

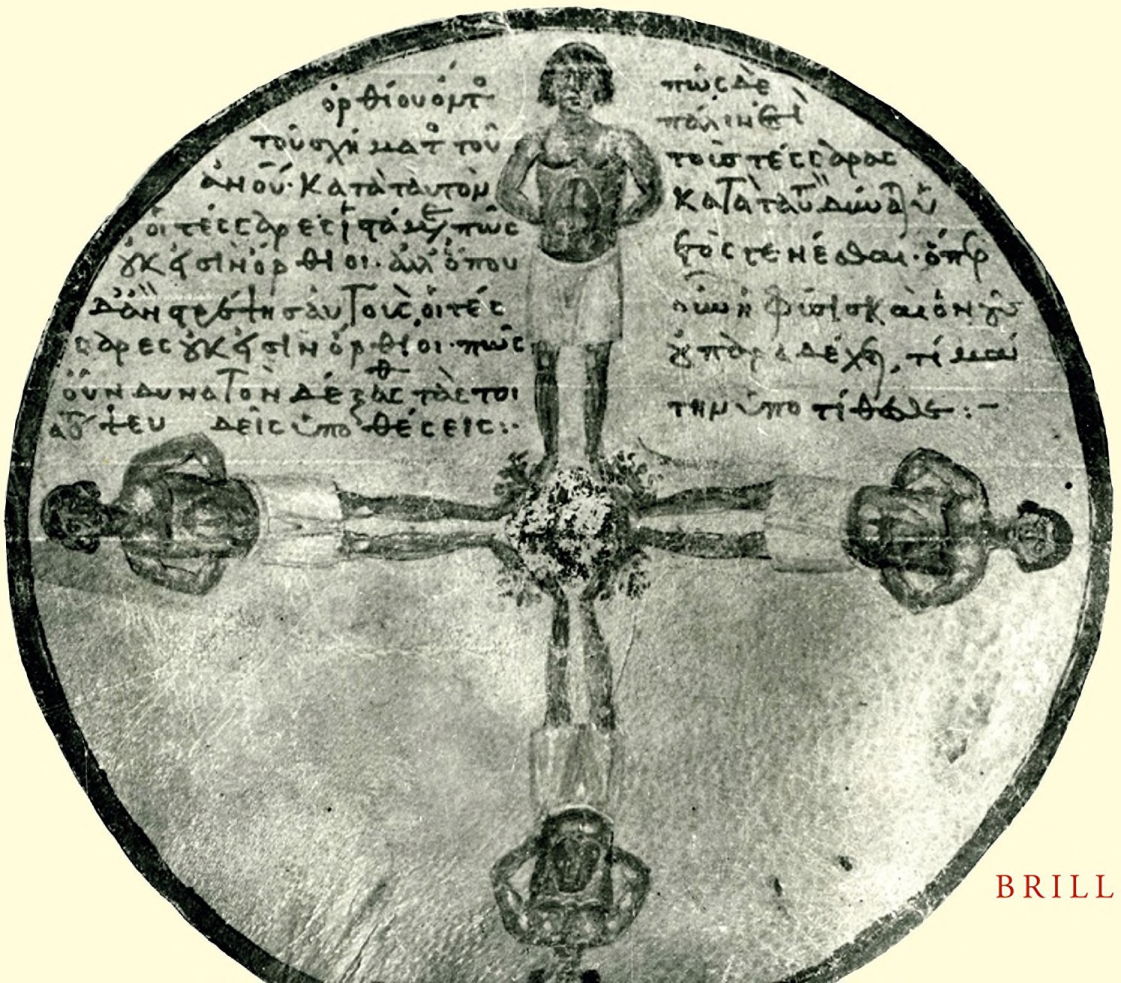
BYZANTINA AUSTRALIENSIA

BYZANTINE PAPERS

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST AUSTRALIAN
BYZANTINE STUDIES CONFERENCE
CANBERRA, 17-19 MAY 1978

Edited by

Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys and Ann Moffatt



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Byzantine Papers

Byzantina Australiensia

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Εἰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀντιπόδων ἐπεξεργαστικώτερον θελήσειέ τις ζητῆσαι,
ῥαδίως τοὺς γράμδεις μύθους αὐτῶν ἀνακαλύψει.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, I,20.



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Preface

The First Australian Conference of Byzantine Studies, held at Canberra on May 17-19 1978, was a memorable event on several counts. To begin with the number of those participating was to an outsider truly astonishing. Some eighty Byzantinists and mediaevalists came from all over the Australian continent to listen to fifteen papers delivered for the most part by young scholars. Impressive were the variety of topics covered in the papers — ranging from hagiography and the study of vernacular literature to art history — their high quality, and the use they made of new research techniques.

Whether offering a typology in early saints' lives, viewing the Byzantines through the eyes of Arab literary rather than conventional historical texts, or applying computer-generated concordances to an analysis of the style of Byzantine romances in popular language, the speakers were at the forefront of what is — or at least should be — the tasks of our discipline today. Anyone who came there with the attitude that progress in Byzantine Studies is the province solely of Europe and America was in for a surprise. Such people might for a moment have consoled themselves by noting that a number of those present, both lecturers and listeners, had received their training or inspiration at Oxford, London, Rome, or Dumbarton Oaks, but they soon also became aware that Australia has an advantage unparalleled almost anywhere: the presence in several major Australian cities of alert Greek-speaking communities, in some cases several hundred thousand strong, which supply the Byzantinists there with students and fellow researchers and give them intellectual and moral support.

A third memorable feature of the conference was that it led to the formation of the National Committee of Byzantine Studies. Once formed, the Committee applied for membership in the International Association of Byzantine Studies, and by now Byzantinists of Australia have joined that international body.

The fourth, and most important, result of the conference is the publication of the present volume. We owe its appearance both to the energy of Dr Ann Moffatt, Mrs Elizabeth Jeffreys and Dr Michael Jeffreys and to the enlightened attitude of the academic authorities at Canberra who provided the venture with financial backing.

Ten of the fifteen papers delivered at the conference appear here. In a comparative study, Dr John Moorhead investigates the involvement of Eastern and Western saints of the early period with their respective communities. He also shows that the business of expelling demons preoccupied Eastern saints more than it did their Western counterparts. Mr Roger Scott looks into the sources of Malalas' notices on Justinian's legislation, and addresses the question as to the kinds of sources a chronicler used to compile his chronicle. Miss Jenny Ferber, pursuing a similar line of thought and using Theophanes as an example, elicits the principles of how the narrative is organized in Byzantine chronography and shows how Theophanes blamed Heraclius' defeats on his abandonment of orthodoxy.

Dr Ahmad Shboul uses literature as a source for intellectual history and holds up the Arab mirror to the Byzantines. In that mirror the Byzantines occasionally appear as barbarians and their ruler as a tyrant. Mrs Margaret Riddle draws upon pictorial evidence and non-canonical and poetical writings to explain the appearance of a concept absent from the Bible — the representation of Joseph as emperor of Egypt. Professor Leslie Rogers discusses the passages of the saga of Edward the Confessor that report the Anglo-Saxon migration to Byzantium after 1066 in the light of new chronicle evidence that was brought into the debate in the last few years. Mr Sasha Grishin establishes the chronology of the frescoes in the ossuary of Bačkovó in Bulgaria. Dr Michael Jeffreys reinterprets the poem celebrating the arrival of a Western imperial bride to Constantinople, sides with those who date the work to 1179, and offers challenging views on possible Western influences on the emergence of vernacular poetry in the Comnenian period. In her lucid survey, Mrs Elizabeth Jeffreys argues for the existence of a traditional oral style of which we possess written reflections in the late Greek verse romances. Finally, Father Ted Stormon analyzes the twenty-six works written by Bessarion before 1473 and collected in an autograph manuscript. In so doing, he sketches a portrait of the young Christian humanist not favorable to mysticism, not yet familiar with the literary and theological culture of the West, but already aware of the flourishing state of that culture.

In sum, Australian Byzantinists may justly be proud of their achievements. Byzantinists worldwide have good reason to hope this first collective publication of the young Australian school will be followed by others of equal excellence.

To have witnessed the beginnings of this volume at the conference in Canberra was a remarkable experience. I shall cherish the memories of the deliberations themselves, of the landscape, and of old friendships renewed and new friendships made during travels in the vast continent. I wish to express my thanks to my many hosts, foremost among them Dr Ann Moffatt, the Jeffreys, and Professor Ralph Elliott, Acting Director of the Humanities Research Centre in Canberra.

Ihor Ševčenko
Harvard University

List of Abbreviations

<i>AArchSyr</i>	<i>Annales Archéologiques de Syrie</i>
Abh	Abhandlungen (followed by name of Academy, abbreviated and by class: e.g. AbhBerl, Phil.-Hist. Kl.)
<i>AFP</i>	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i>
<i>AIPHOS</i>	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves</i>
<i>AnalBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
'Αρχ.Ποντ.	'Αρχεῖον Πόντου
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
BGA	Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
Bonn ed.	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, ed. B. G. Niebuhr et al. (Bonn. 1828-97) (with date of individual volume in parentheses)
<i>BS</i>	<i>Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
ByzArch	Byzantinisches Archiv
ByzNeerland	Byzantina Neerlandica
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CahArch</i>	<i>Cahiers Archéologiques</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i> , ed. P. Kruger (Berlin, 1929)
<i>ClMed</i>	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia</i>
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario biografico degli Italiani</i>
<i>DHGE</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique</i>
<i>Digest</i>	<i>Digesta</i> , ed. Th. Mommsen and P. Krüger (2nd ed., Berlin, 1962-63)
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>DTC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>EP</i>	<i>Encyclopédie de l'Islam</i> , 1st ed.

<i>EP</i>	<i>Encyclopédie de l'Islam</i> , 2nd ed.
<i>EO</i>	<i>Echos d'Orient</i>
<i>GBA</i>	<i>Gazette des Beaux-Arts</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>Institutes</i>	<i>Institutiones</i> , ed. P. Krüger (Berlin, 1928)
<i>IRAIK</i>	<i>Izvestija Russkogo Arheologiceskogo Instituta v Konstantinople</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JbKSWien</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JThS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
Loeb	The Loeb Classical Library
MacBelg	Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique
<i>MASP</i>	<i>Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg. Sciences Politiques, Histoire et Philosophie</i>
<i>MelRom</i>	<i>Melanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, publié par l'École Française de Rome</i>
<i>MGH</i>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab a.C. 500 usque ad a. 1500 (Hanover, Berlin, etc., 1826—)
<i>AA</i>	<i>Auctores Antiquissimi</i>
<i>Poetae</i>	<i>Poetae Latini Medii Aevi. Die lateinischen Dichter des Mittelalter</i>
<i>ScriptRerLangob</i>	<i>Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum, saec. VI-IX</i>
<i>ScriptRerMerov</i>	<i>Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum</i>
Νέος Έλλ.	Νέος Έλληνομνήμων
<i>Novels</i>	<i>Novellae</i> , ed. F. Schoell and G. Kroll (Berlin, 1928)
<i>OCA</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>

PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne
PAPA	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne
ProcBrAc	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
ProcCamb PhiloSoc	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
PMLA	<i>Proceedings of the Modern Language Association</i>
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
ΠΠ	Παλατιολογικά καὶ Πελοποννησιακά
RACr	<i>Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana</i>
RE	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , new rev. ed. by G. Wissowa and W. Kroll (Stuttgart, 1893-)
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
RhM	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i>
RISG	<i>Rivista Italiana per le scienze giuridiche</i>
RQ	<i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und [für] Kirchengeschichte</i>
RSBN	<i>Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici</i>
SB	Sitzungsberichte (followed by the name of Academy, abbreviated, e.g., SBBerl)
SBN	<i>Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici</i>
SBVS	<i>Saga-Book of the Viking Society</i>
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
ST	Studi e Testi
StPB	Studia Patristica et Byzantina
SubsHag	Subsidia Hagiographica, Société des Bollandistes
TAPA	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
VizVrem	<i>Vizantijskij Vremmenik</i>
WByzSt	Wiener Byzantinische Studien

Thoughts on Some Early Medieval Miracles

John Moorhead

The period of the early Middle Ages confronts us with a society in which the miraculous was prevalent. The *Vitae* of saints, works of edification and secular and ecclesiastical histories abound in miracles, signs and wonders. It is difficult to escape an element of voyeurism in dealing with this material; one is tempted to stare, taking perverse satisfaction in the contemplation of things so strange. Yet it has been put to valuable use by a number of scholars,¹ and in this paper I shall attempt to add to their number by comparing some stories of miracles worked in the late-Roman and barbarian West with those worked in the East Roman or Byzantine empire in the period between St. Antony of Egypt and the completion by Bede of his *Historia ecclesiastica*; the period, that is, roughly between the early fourth and early eighth centuries.²

Differences between the East and the West, both in the kinds of miracles they believed to have occurred, and in the means by which they were worked, can be of importance in understanding differences between these two parts of the Christian world.

Let me begin with miracles of healing. The Eastern sources I have taken as a sample mention 177 such miracles, the most common types being:

- 94 cases of people possessed by demons, evil spirits or unclean spirits;
- 18 cures of paralysis or inability to walk;
- 8 cures of the deaf and/or dumb.

The Western sources yield 295 healing miracles, and here the most common categories are:

- 81 cures of paralysis or inability to walk;
- 59 cures of the blind or those unable to see clearly;
- 44 cures of possession.

Clearly, demons were much more of a problem in the Eastern sample, where their expulsions accounted for 53% of miracles of healing, than in the West, where their share was merely 15%. I suggest that this has more significance than that of a small footnote to medical history. It will be worth our while here exploring a hint thrown out by George, the biographer of Theodore of Sykeon, who tells us of eight cases in which people were afflicted by secret demons which only became public in the presence of the holy man. For example, a slave-girl who had been ill for 28 years was brought to Theodore. When he took hold of her head and prayed a demon began to shout: Theodore had made him manifest! (*V. Theo.*, 84; cf. 71, 86, 89, 92, 108, 132, 140). There seemed to be something in Theodore which forced demons to reveal themselves.

A story from John of Ephesus' *Lives of the Eastern Saints* gives us another perspective on relations between saints and demons which points in the same direction while allowing the demons the initiative. The ascetic Maro refused to heal the sick, on the grounds that if he were to do so the fiends would seize women and girls and many persons, without their victims being aware. These sick people

would be brought to Maro; he would drive out the demons, and this would have as an unfortunate consequence his becoming puffed up and arrogant (*Eastern Saints*, 65-7).

But Maro was in a minority. Many Eastern holy men went out of their way to encounter demons in combat. St. Antony, for example, deliberately entered the tomb to challenge the demons (*V. Ant.*, 8-9). Macarius, one of the "stars" of the desert fathers, went to sleep in a pagan temple, using a coffin as a pillow:

"The demons, filled with jealousy, tried to scare Macarius; but he knocked on the coffin with assurance, saying 'Awake, and go into the darkness, if you can'. Hearing this, the devils began to cry out with all their might, 'You have overcome us'. Filled with confusion, they fled". (*Sayings*, Macarius the Great, 13; cf. Elias, 7; Theophilus, 3)

Daniel the Stylite deliberately took up residence in a church inhabited by demons (*V. Dan.*, 14-18), while Theodore went to a place where Artemis was supposed to live with many demons (*V. Theo.*, 16). Theodore's follower Arsenius

"found a place to his liking outside the village, which was a haunt of demons and was eager to stay there". (*Ibid.*, 48)

Paul the Anchorite went to live in a certain large cave known to be inhabited by malignant fiends (*Eastern Saints*, 111-12). Perhaps we should see the celebrated attack on the Serapeum in Alexandria in 391 by a horde of monks not as a simple act of gratuitous vandalism, but rather as an act of war against their enemies, the demons.³

Relations between holy men and demons can be characterized as a war in which now one side and now the other is the aggressor. Theodore of Pherme dismissed three demons "covered with confusion" (αἰσχυροθέντες: *Sayings*, Theodore of Pherme, 27); demons were frightened of Isidore the Priest (*ibid.*, Isidore the Priest, 2); the dying Joseph of Panephrisis threatened the devil with his stick so that the devil fled through the window like a dog (*ibid.*, Joseph of Panephrisis, 11); Macarius the Younger could spit on the demons (*Laus. hist.*, 15.2); Nathaniel made sport of a demon (*ibid.*, 16 *in toto*); Hippolytus put a demon to shame (*ibid.*, 65.4); Susan mocked the fiends (*Eastern Saints*, 554); and the biographer of Daniel the Stylite drew his reader's attention to "the Wicked One's disgrace" (*V. Dan.*, 50). Theodore of Sykeon, by subduing his body, "humiliated and put to shame the power and varied attacks of the enemy" (*V. Theo.*, 28). The demons frequently attacked. For example they went before Pachomius as he went to pray, saying "Make way for the man of God!", turned themselves into roosters and, in the midst of various temptations, appeared as wanton and naked women (*V. Pach.*, 16-18). Later the devil appeared to Pachomius in the guise of Christ (*ibid.*, 48) or a beautiful woman (*ibid.*, 49). The demons mocked their enemies: Macarius of Alexandria was "the sport of demons" (*Sayings*, Macarius the Great, 21); Paul the Great warned his monks against being "the plaything of demons" (*Sayings*, Paul the Great, 1); the enemy sent *accidie*, "full of mockery" (*Sayings*, Syncletia, 27); Abramius was "the sport of demons" (*Laus. hist.*, 53); Thomas grieved "the demons have mocked me" (*Eastern Saints*, 193); a strange noise leads to the thought "perhaps Satan is mocking me" (*ibid.*, 205); fiends made a laughing-stock of two monks (*ibid.*, 221 and this whole story); and the hosts of darkness mocked at the destruction of Adam's race (*ibid.*, 653).

EARLY MEDIEVAL MIRACLES

It becomes clear, then, that demons and holy men were at war, with each side seeking the other out and mocking and jeering the enemy. The warfare was frequently internal, fought at the level of temptations, but it could become externalised into social relationships. In the following part of this paper I should like to take up again the question of the miraculous by looking at three examples of the fight at its most intense, the time of exorcism.

Daniel the Stylite had forced an evil spirit to promise he would depart from a boy on a certain day. The day came:

“the demon in Sergius’ son became agitated, for he was being forced to go out of him, and he cried with a loud voice saying, ‘Oh, the violence of this false magician! When he was still in the church he drove me out of Cyrus’ daughter; so I went away to Thrace and found a dwelling in this young man; and behold, he has brought me here from Thrace and now he persecutes me. What have you to do with me, Daniel? — oh, violence! I must come out from this one, too!’ and after reviling the saint furiously and afflicting the young man he came out of him by the power of the Lord.... The young man lay on the ground with his mouth open so that all said he was dead and his father beat his breast as if over a corpse”.

He was revived after being given oil of the saints to drink (*V. Dan.*, 33; cf. 29, 31).

Theodore of Sykeon performed his first exorcism on a boy with an unclean spirit. He whipped the boy:

“the demon was disturbed and began to disparage him and call him an impostor, and, if Theodore said anything to him the devil just repeated the same words, and for two days he gave him no answer at all. Then on the third day Theodore, the child of Christ, did as he had done before with the boy and the demon, now disturbed again, began to cry out: ‘I am coming out, boy, I am coming out, I will not resist you, give me one hour! ... Oh, the violence of the Nazarene who excites these forces against us! for ever since He came down upon the earth He wins men against us, and now He has given authority to the son of the harlot to cast us out. Woe is me.... Woe will come upon our kind from this harlot’s action ...’ [Theodore signed him with oil and] rebuked the demon, saying ‘Come out then, most wicked spirit, and do not talk so much nonsense!’ And then the demon with a shriek cast the boy down at his feet and went out of him”. (*V. Theo.*, 18)

Our third exorcism was also performed by Theodore. Near the village of Buzaea workmen digging a hole unleashed demons, who caused all kinds of trouble in the community. Finding prayers in the name of Theodore frightened the spirits the people brought him to their village:

“the spirits which were afflicting men felt his presence and met him howling out these words: ‘Oh violence! Why have you come here, you iron-eater? ... We know why you have come, but we shall not obey you as did the demons of Galatia: for we are much tougher than they and not milder’. When he rebuked them they at once held their peace.... [On the next day Theodore told them to come out.] They uttered loud shouts and tore the garments which covered the sufferers and threw them down at his feet and came out of

them. But one very wicked spirit which was in a woman resisted and would not come out. Then the Saint caught hold of the woman's hair and shook her violently and rebuked the spirit by the sign of the Cross and by prayer to God and finally said 'I will not give way to you nor will I leave this spot till you come out of her!' Then the spirit began to shriek and say 'Oh violence, you are burning me, iron-eater! I am coming out, I will not resist you....' The spirit hurled the woman down at the feet of the Saint and came out of her". (*V. Theo.*, 43)

The exorcisms we have examined have common features. In each case there is a violent confrontation between demon and holy man. Both sides speak, the demon resorts to name-calling,⁴ and the victim is left prostrate.

In the West, however, we enter a different world in which exorcisms are more peaceful. The exorcisms described by Gregory of Tours were worked by relics, so the possibility of a demon trading insults with his persecutor did not arise. Of course Gregory's near contemporary Gregory of Rome wrote his *Dialogues* to celebrate a galaxy of heroes who had worked miracles when alive, but when one of the clergy of Aquino became sick his bishop sent him to the shrines of the martyrs before he went to the living St. Benedict, even though Monte Cassino was only a few miles away (*Dial.*, II.16). And Gregory informs us that in his time miracles were no longer worked by contemporary saints (*ibid.*, I.11). Indeed, the West seems to have failed to have made the important association between sites of pagan worship and demons. The letter of Pope Gregory to Abbot Mellitus in which he advised Augustine of Canterbury to adapt pagan shrines to the worship of God contains no hint that the shrines may have to be wrested from the control of demons (Bede, *H.E.*, 1.30). Similarly, St. Martin of Tours was keen on destroying pagan shrines, but these are in no way associated with demons (*V. Mart.*, 13-15; cf. 11. For a contrary example see Gregory of Rome, *Dial.*, III.7.) In short, the stature of both exorcist and demon seems to have been less in the West than the East.

Let us now turn to miracles not involving healing. Theodore of Sykeon performed 24 such miracles: he warded off plagues of locusts, worms or beetles (*V. Theo.*, 36, 101, 115, 118); broke droughts (14, 51, 101); intervened to change the course of rivers, make them easy to cross or prevent their flooding (45, 53, 141); caused childless women to conceive (93, 140, 170); saved villages from threatening clouds (52, 144); made savage animals docile (98, 99); stopped a thief (34); ended a plague (45); moved a big rock (55); kept rain off waggons (56); enabled a monastery to obtain food and made the dough ferment (104); and made chains fall off a prisoner (125). What is remarkable in this collection of miracles is how few were worked for individuals. Most were worked for village communities *in toto*. In the case of exorcisms there were eight occasions when Theodore had to deal with communities or families plagued by demons (*V. Theo.*, 43, 44, 114, 115, 116-17, 118, 131, 143). A similar impression is given by John of Ephesus speaking of the relics of Paul the Anchorite:

"Even after his death miracles were everywhere wrought through his holy bones, men taking his skull and going around the districts, and wheresoever locusts came, or hail or a scorching wind or bubonic plague, and his right hand or his head went, God would straightaway make deliverance". (*Eastern Saints*, 118)

Two aspects of community life of concern to a variety of Eastern saints may be touched on here. The first of these is climate, and I shall quote one of Theodore of Sykeon's miracles:

"In a village called Reake a threatening cloud would periodically appear over the countryside and pour down hailstones on the vineyards when the fruit was ripe; and the men of the village were in great distress as they had not been able to enjoy the fruits of their husbandry for several years. Accordingly they came to the monastery and entreated the blessed man [Theodore came, prayed, and planted wooden crosses in the ground:] through his holy prayer that threatening cloud never overshadowed that village again." (*V. Theo.*, 52)

Similarly the prayers of Sabas ended a drought at Jerusalem going into its fifth year (*V. Sab.*, 67); Euthymius' prayers obtained rain (*V. Euth.*, 25); as did those of Hilarion (*V. Hil.*, 32) and James (*Eastern Saints*, 252-3). Hilarion also saved a community from a tidal wave (*V. Hil.*, 40). A vineyard devastated by rain four years running became safe after Habib offered the eucharist there (*Eastern Saints*, 12-14); Abraham the recluse drove away a threatening cloud (*ibid.*, 122-4). Food was often multiplied for groups of secular people (e.g. *V. Eut.*, 62-3; *V. Euth.*, 17); and if Sabas changed his monastery's water into wine it was only when a guest was present (*V. Sab.*, 46).

Eastern saints often addressed themselves to another community problem, if of a micro- rather than a macro-community: a childless couple. The prayers of Daniel enabled two men to have sons (*V. Dan.*, 38 [the case of the Emperor Leo], 82); Hilarion brought a conception about (*V. Hil.*, 13); and Theodoret mentions three monks who did this (*Rel. Hist.*, cols. 1396A, 1408D-1409B, 1472D, 1480C). Saints frequently played interesting variations on this theme. Eutychius brought dead children back to life (*V. Eut.*, 45-6), and enabled a mother whose supply of milk had gone dry to be able to continue feeding (*ibid.*, 60), while Euthymius signed a sterile Saracen woman with the Cross three times and predicted she would have three sons (*V. Euth.*, 23). Two barren women who, when advised by James, confessed God's holy Name, conceived (*Eastern Saints*, 235-6).

Things were quite different in the West. Gregory of Tours tells of over 200 miracles worked by the relics of St. Martin, only one of which brought about a conception. Significantly, the child was conceived only after the father gave all his property to a monastery (*LVSM*, IV.11; but cf. II.43, the revival of a dead child). I can identify only nine miracles which Martin performed on behalf of groups: he, or rather his relics, calmed a storm troubling travellers at sea (*ibid.*, I.9); caused storms to pass by a monastery's field (I.34); freed prisoners (II.35, IV.39, IV.41); helped the people of Tours stricken with disease (III.34); speeded a travelling family on its way (IV.29); caused a spring to flow (IV.31); and aided townspeople threatened by fire (IV.47). This is a fairly meagre tally, which could be reduced were we to omit miracles performed on behalf of temporary communities of travellers or prisoners. I am only aware of a single community helped by a miracle in Bede (a town, where the prayers of a bishop prevented fire from advancing: *HE*, 11.7). Gregory the Great's miracle-workers showed a higher level of community involvement. Paulinus of Nola may have had captives freed (*Dial.*, III.1); Frigidianus of Lucca diverted a river (II.9); Sabinus of Piacenza stopped the Po from flooding (III.10); the tunic of a monk brought rain (III.15); the Sanctulus of Norcia multiplied food for workmen (III.37). But these non-healing miracles are

outnumbered by those which benefitted churches, monasteries or hermits (I.1, 7, 9; II.1, 9, 21, 29; III.16).

This may seem strange. The Eastern saints, far more than their Western counterparts, were given to almost histrionic feats of mortification and self-denial. One would imagine that their eccentricities would have differentiated them from their local communities more conspicuously than their comparatively easy-going Western counterparts — only one Westerner attempted to become a stylite, and he fell under episcopal displeasure! (Gregory of Tours, *Hist. lib.*, VIII.15). Yet I would tentatively suggest three ways in which Eastern holy men were more fully bound up with the secular community than those of the West.

The first of these is economic. The *Apophthegmata* contain six references to monks making baskets, another six to work in the harvest, four to “manual work” making goods for sale, and numerous references to monks selling their work in the market-place. Poemon was a rope maker; Silvanus made dried peas into necklaces. One community of monks had a boat to take its produce to Alexandria. Palladius mentions a monastery which contained 15 tailors, seven metalworkers, four carpenters, twelve men who drove camels, and 15 fullers (*Laus. hist.*, 32.9, cf., e.g., *ibid.* 22; 10.6). The *Lives of the Eastern Saints* tell of those who supported themselves teaching boys, weaving goat’s wool into yarn, selling utensils made out of date palm, making partridge cages and, rather implausibly, handsome tiaras of various colours.

This points to an intimate economic connection between these monks and the secular world. Of course they may have had little choice: the Egyptian desert is not exactly suitable for farming, while the Monophysites on the run described by John of Ephesus were largely dependent on the charity of their supporters which could have been expressed in support for “cottage industries” of monks and nuns. But St. Basil of Caesarea made it plain that he expected his monks to work at such trades as weaving, shoemaking, building, carpentry, ironworking and farming, taking it for granted the monks would sell their goods at a market.⁵ Compare this with his Western counterpart St. Benedict:

“If it can be done, a monastery ought to be set up so that all the necessary things such as water, the mill, the garden and various skills may be practised inside the monastery, so there may be no need for wandering outside, which is not advantageous for their souls”.⁶

Benedict’s ideal monastery was self-sufficient, as was Martin’s, where buying or selling were forbidden (*V. Mart.*, 10). Similarly, the sizes of the lands ceded to monasteries in Bede imply they provided their own food. This point could be developed at some length; here I merely suggest an element of contrast between East and West.

A second way in which Eastern holy men were close to the people is that they were less likely to be clerics than their Western counterparts. I have indicated above (pp. 5—6) a tendency for Western miracle workers to favour the church; further, St. Martin of Tours became a bishop, as did a number of his followers (*V. Mart.*, 10), although Gregory of Tours notes that, whereas he raised two men from the dead before becoming a bishop, he subsequently raised only one: *Hist. lib.*, X.31. Presumably episcopacy entailed a diminution of miraculous power (cf. *V. Theo.*, 62-79). 38 people performed miracles in Pope Gregory’s *Dialogues*: 18 were bishops, another three priests. Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica* tells of 14 people

who worked miracles, or through whose appurtenances miracles were worked: eight were bishops, and one a priest. A recent study of Carolingian Aquitaine has shown that, of 19 saints commemorated, 13 or 14 were bishops or priests, and another was an archdeacon. Of a group of ten described as hermit, recluse, monk or abbot, only four were not bishops or priests.⁷ Yet few of the Eastern holy men discussed in this paper were bishops. The reluctance of holy men to take holy orders is of course a familiar *topos*: Daniel the Stylite, for example, refused to have the ladder placed against his column, which prevented the Patriarch Gennadius from climbing up and the Patriarch was reduced to shouting the prayer of ordination (*V. Dan.*, 42-3). Further, just as monks attacked pagan shrines, so they were notorious troublemakers in the church. The Council of Chalcedon decreed that they were not to concern themselves with ecclesiastical or secular affairs⁸ — to no avail, for it was the monks who led the opposition to that council, starting from Sabas, Severus, Peter, James until the final torpedoing of compromise at Callinicum:

“The meeting, probably in 568, was attended by a vast concourse of monks and clergy. John spoke warmly of the need for unity.... All seemed set for success when the monks created a tumult. ‘Show us what you have written’, they shouted to John: ‘if it is orthodox we will accept it; if not, we will not accept it’. Riot immediately broke out, the Libellus was torn to shreds.... John crossed the Euphrates into Persian territory without even staying for a meal”.⁹

Similarly, opposition to iconoclasm was dominated by monks.

One story is worth telling in some detail. In 535-36 Pope Agapetus visited Constantinople. The Roman *Liber pontificalis* tells us he was well received by Justinian, corrected the Emperor on a point of doctrine, deposed the Patriarch of Constantinople, installed a new one, and died shortly afterwards.¹⁰ Although it is perhaps a slightly triumphalist account, I see no reason why it should not be accepted, at least in general terms. But the *Lives of the Eastern Saints* has a different perspective. It states that the Monophysite monk Z'ura was in Constantinople when Agapetus came. Agapetus demanded to see this “Syrian deceiver” and Justinian agreed to have him brought, addressing to Agapetus the significant words “If you are stronger than he, do as you wish” (*Eastern Saints*, 27). Z'ura laughed and mysteriously told friends to wait till the fifth day of the week. A boat was sent to bring Z'ura to the pope, but “something like a wind” flung it back across the water. It set out a second time, but “as if a man grasped the boat” it was forced back where it started. As the boat made a third attempt to cross it was smitten by “something like a flash of lightning”. Meanwhile Agapetus had his difficulties:

“the Lord smote this man in his tongue and it grew long and protruded beyond his mouth and came down to his breast, making a fearful sight with great swelling, so that he was twice lanced in it, while terror and trepidation seized all who saw the sight of him. And in this torment and manifest sentence of requital for his blasphemy he lingered on till the fifth day of the week which the blessed man fixed as the term and said ‘On the fifth day of the week God will perform what he knows’. And on the same day he who had threatened the blessed man received his burial and perished”. (*Eastern Saints*, 30-1)

It is hard to imagine a Western monk getting away with this.

The final way I would suggest Eastern monks were more a part of their communities follows on from this. The Easterners had a *παρρησία*, a frankness or openness of speech, which they demonstrated in their dealings not only with the leaders of the church but also those of the state. The Monophysite holy men, Habib and Maro, dealt sternly with the oppressors of the poor (*Eastern Saints*, 8-11, 72-7); St. Antony refused Constantius' invitation to visit him (*Sayings*, Anthony the Great, 31; of course Constantius had Arian sympathies); Abba Ammonathas visited an unknown emperor and obtained a remission of the poll tax (*Sayings*, Ammonathas); Philoromus rebuked Julian (*Laus. hist.*, 45.1); Daniel acted against Basiliscus (*V. Dan.*, 71) and subsequently Zeno and the patriarch prostrated themselves on the ground before him (*ibid.*, 83);¹¹ Z'ura, who must indeed have been a force to be reckoned with, caused Justinian to lose his understanding and be covered with a fearful swelling, although he subsequently prayed for his recovery (*Eastern Saints*, 23-6). Among the parade of Monophysites who arrived at the court of Justinian and Theodora was Mare:

“with regard to the blessed man's entry into the presence of the king and queen, and the rough character of his meeting with them, and his audacity and his contemptuous conduct moreover to them, we have not thought it well to make a written record in the history of his life, not only on account of their violence and the insults and contemptuous conduct which he used towards the rulers of the world, but further also because perhaps, if they had been written, the difficulty of believing among the hearers would be very great and not small, that these things could be said not only to kings, the holders of the power of this world, but even also to contemptible and mean persons”. (*Eastern Saints*, 630-1)

When Phocas requested Theodore of Sykeon's prayers the holy man told him to mend his ways: otherwise

“he foretold to him the woes that would come upon him through God's wrath; at these words the emperor became very incensed against him”. (*V. Theo.*, 133)¹²

Theodore demonstrated his *παρρησία* even more strikingly against the consul Bonosus. When Bonosus refused to bend his neck in prayer

“the Saint took hold of the hair of his forehead and pulled it and in this way bent his head down.... We who were present were thunderstruck and terrified at the just man's daring and imagined that the consul would turn insolent and furious, for we knew well by report that his savagery was like that of a wild beast. But he readily accepted the prayer and the rebuke”. (*V. Theo.*, 142)

The evidence I have put forward is frankly impressionistic, but I would tentatively suggest that this openness before political authority is an Eastern phenomenon. Apparent Western parallels, such as the conduct of St. Benedict to the Ostrogothic king Totila (*Dial.*, II.14-15), occur when the spiritual leader confronts a heretic. On the other hand, Bede's gallery of good kings includes Sigeberht of the East Angles who founded and then entered a monastery (*HE*,

111.18); Sebbi of the East Angles who became a monk (previously it had been said of him "episcopum magis quam regem ordinari deceret" *HE*, IV.11); Caedwalla of the West Saxons, who gave up his *imperium* to go to Rome for baptism with the hope of dying shortly thereafter (*HE*, V.7); Cenred of the Mercians and Offa of the East Saxons who went to Rome to become monks (*HE*, V.19); the bones of the saintly Oswald of the Northumbrians were translated to the monastery of Bardney (*HE*, III.11). Gregory of Tours tells us that King Guntram could have been considered a bishop, and moreover that the threads of his clothing and the invocation of his name brought about miracles (*Hist. lib.*, IX.21). I would not wish to make sweeping statements on the basis of this evidence, but would suggest we bear in mind that royalty and holiness may have formed an alliance in the West unknown to the East.¹³

This leads to interesting conclusions. We have seen that Eastern miracles can be distinguished from those worked in the West in a number of ways. The East saw far more miracles worked against demons, which frequently took the form of personal confrontations rare in the West. The permanent cold war between holy man and demons escalated into a spectacular exorcism in which the holy man demonstrated his freedom and power; he, and not the possessed person, was the centre of attention. Exorcisms in the West worked by relics point to a different focus of piety. We have also seen that Eastern saints worked more miracles on behalf of communities, such as obtaining more favourable climatic conditions or allowing the childless to have children, than occurred in the West. The holy man was a member of the secular community — his livelihood depended on it; he was probably not in major orders; and he was prepared to act against the powers that be. By exorcising demons the holy man demonstrated *παρρησία*, which it was no trouble to turn against earthly powers; the freedom daringly exercised in the presence of demons could similarly be exercised before emperors or bishops. In short, our study of miracles points to the existence in the Christian East of large numbers of anti-establishment "stirrers" well-grounded in their secular communities. In the West, a comparatively monochrome society where saints, bishops and kings were much more closely linked, such men did not exist — and in any case sanctity could cause less trouble when it took the form of relics.¹⁴

Footnotes

1. Evelyne Patlagean, "Ancienne hagiographie byzantine et histoire sociale", *Annales; économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 23 (1968), 106-26; Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man", *JRS*, 61 (1970), 80-101; *idem*, "Sorcery, Demons and the Rise of Christianity: From Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages", in M. Douglas, ed., *Witchcraft Accusations and Confessions* (London, 1970), 17-45, reprinted in his *Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine* (London, 1972), 119-45;

and, for a slightly later period, Dorothy Abrahamse, "The Transformation of the Saint in Early Mediaeval Byzantium", *BS*, 2 (1975), 123-71.

2. For the West my sources are: Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969; hereafter, *HE*); *idem*, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti in Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940);

Eugippius, *Vita Severini*, ed. P. Knoell, CSEL 9.2 (Vienna, 1885); Gregory of Rome, *Dialogorum libri IV*, ed. V. Moricca (Rome, 1924; hereafter, *Dial.*); Gregory of Tours, *Historiarum libri X*, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH, *ScriptRerMerov*, I.1 (Hanover, 1885; hereafter, *Hist. lib.*); *idem*, *Liber de virtutibus sancti Martini episcopi*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, *ScriptRerMerov*, I.2 (Hanover, 1885; hereafter, *LVSM*); Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, ed. and trans. J. Fontaine, SC 133-5 (Paris, 1967 ff.; hereafter, *V. Mart.*). For the East I have examined: *Apophthegmata patrum* (PG, 65, cols. 71-440; hereafter, *Sayings*); Athanasius (?), *Vita Antonii* (PG, 26, cols. 835-978; hereafter, *V. Ant.*); Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vie de saint Euthyme, Vie de saint Sabas*, trans. A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, III, 1 and 2 (Paris, 1962; hereafter, *V. Euth. V. Sab.*); S. Danielis stylitae *Vita antiquior*, ed. H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites*, SubsHag 14 (Brussels, 1923), 1-94 (hereafter, *V. Dan.*); Eustratius, *Vita Eutychii* (PG, 86.2, cols. 2272-90; hereafter, *V. Eut.*); Jean de Beth-Aphthonia, *Vie de Sévère*, ed. and trans. M.-A. Kugener, PO, 2.3 (Paris, 1903); Jerome, *Vita sancti Hilarionis eremetae* (PL, 23, cols. 29-54; hereafter, *V. Hil.*); John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. and trans. E. W. Brooks, PO, 17.1, 18.4, 19.2 (Paris, 1902 ff.; hereafter, *Eastern Saints*); Palladius, *The Lausiatic History*, ed. C. Butler, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1889-1904; hereafter, *Laus. hist.*); Theodoret, *Religiosa Historia* (PG, 82, cols. 1283-1496; hereafter, *Rel. Hist.*); *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, ed. and

trans. A.-J. Festugière, SubsHag 48, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1970; hereafter, *V. Theo.*);

Vita S. Pachomii abbatis, ed. H. van Craneburgh, SubsHag 46 (Brussels, 1969; hereafter, *V. Pach.*).

Quotations from the *Apophthegmata* follow the translation of Benedicta Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (London, 1975); from the lives of Daniel and Theodore, that of E. A. S. Dawes and N. H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford, 1948). A number of these sources pose notorious textual problems, but in a survey which is basically a head count it has seemed safe to ignore them, and I have worked from the most accessible editions. It may be objected that comparisons between these sources along the lines of West and East could be vitiated by my selection of sources: my richest source of Western miracles is Gregory's collection of those worked by St. Martin's relics, while for the East I rely much more heavily on *Vitae*. But the classes of miracles and activities of holy men are similar within the two different types of sources.

3. See in general A. Adnès and P. Gavinet, "Guérisons miraculeuses et exorcismes dans l' 'Histoire Philothée' de Théodoret de Cyr", *RHR*, 171 (1967), 53-83, 149-79, especially 57.

4. The name σιδηροφάγος, "iron-eater", seems exclusive to Theodore (cf. *V. Theo.*, 35, 43, 46, 84, 86, 108), but names implying violent activities are common.

5. *Regulae fusius tractatae* (PG 31, cols. 1015-19), interrogationes 38, 39. St. John Chrysostom speaks of monks making baskets and weaving in addition to cultivating the soil (*In Matt.*, 72.4).

6. *La règle de Saint Benoît*, ed. A.

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de Vogué and J. Neufville, II, SC 182 (Paris, 1972), chapter 66.

7. J.-C. Poulin, *L'idéal de sainteté dans l'Aquitaine carolingienne* (Quebec, 1975), evidence summarized in tableau D, p. 58; cf. W. Pohlkamp, "Hagiographische Texte als Zeugnisse einer Histoire de la sainteté", *Frühmittelalterlichen Studien*, 11 (1977), 229-40.

8. Canon 5, in *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz, tom. 1, vol. 1, part 1 (Berlin, 1933), 159 [355].

9. W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge, 1972), 319.

10. *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 vols. (Paris, 1955-57), 287-8.

11. As Professor Ševčenko pointed out in discussion, what we are told of Daniel's relations with Basiliscus and Zeno could merely reflect a desire of his biographer to show that his hero was on the winning side.

12. For the coolness of Theodore, or his biographer, to Phocas, cf. 119, 125.

13. Cf., on a small but possibly significant area, G. Moyses, "Les origines du monachisme dans le diocèse de Besançon (V^e-X^e siècles)", *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes*, 131 (1973), 22-104, 369-485, esp. 467-80: "Relations avec les pouvoirs".

14. Uses which could be made of relics are discussed by Peter Brown, *Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours*, The Stenton Lecture, 1976 (Reading, 1977).

Only after completing this paper did I discover Derek Baker, "Theodore of Sykeon and the Historians", in Derek Baker, ed., *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, *Studies in Church History* 13 (Oxford, 1976), 83-96, but his conclusions would not seem to require revision of the argument presented in this paper.

Malalas and Justinian's Codification

Roger Scott

I Malalas and other writers on Justinian's laws

John Malalas includes in his chronicle two direct references to Justinian's codification of the laws;¹ furthermore he alone of the contemporary or near-contemporary accounts records the prohibition on the teaching of philosophy and law at Athens,² and in addition he manages to devote a sentence every now and again to Justinian's later legislation. My aim here is to discuss the significance of Malalas' record both for the history of Justinian and for the study of the chronicle. But some justification is perhaps first needed, since Malalas can hardly be said to have shown, on this evidence, any great interest in Justinian's legal works, nor yet to tell us much of importance that we could not discover from more trustworthy sources. Yet comparison both with his own record of the legislation of Justinian's predecessors and with other contemporary accounts of Justinian's legislation makes it appear that Malalas' spasmodic jottings in fact consume, relatively speaking, a considerable amount of space.³

Malalas, in his 74 pages on Justinian's first thirty-six years as emperor, has as many references to legislation as he does in the previous eight books in which he covers the five and a quarter centuries since the birth of Christ in just under 200 pages. This may be due to Justinian's fame as a legislator; moreover, Malalas covers his reign in greater detail anyway. Still, Malalas' occasional notices make the lack of interest in Justinian's codification and other legislation among contemporary writers all the more remarkable. The great historian of the reign, Procopius, has just the one reference to the codification in the *Buildings*, but omits it entirely from his main work, the *Wars*, and can only offer some indirect sneers in the *Secret History* and even these refer only to individual laws.⁴ John Lydus has a little more, with one direct comment and three other references to the new *Code*; but the publicity value of these latter three references is dubious, as on each occasion Lydus is commenting on the disappearance of statutes from the old *Theodosian Code*, which thus gets equal attention.⁵ There are in addition just two sentences in the *Paschal Chronicle*⁶ and one in Count Marcellinus.⁷ Marcellinus' simple sentence was later incorporated by Bede in his *De tempore rationum* and that remained about the extent of the interest and knowledge among the Western chroniclers until the rediscovery of Justinian's legislation.⁸ In the next century, Isidore of Seville knew of no important legislator later than Theodosius II.⁹ Later Byzantine chronicles are only a little less scanty. Perhaps the problem was that Greek speakers just were not interested in a Latin work, although Greek commentaries and translations were produced during the sixth century.¹⁰ Yet Justinian clearly regarded the publication of the *Code*, the *Digest* and the *Institutes* as a mighty achievement¹¹ and modern accounts, by the amount of attention invariably and properly given to Justinian's legal work, support his own oft-repeated claims. Furthermore, as Rubin has demonstrated, Justinian was well

aware of the value and power of propaganda — or at least advertisement — and used the laws as a vehicle for it.¹² It is this contrast between Justinian's own claims and the apparent neglect of the codification by most writers of his time that makes Malalas' brief remarks seem worth investigation.

I will argue in this paper that Malalas' passages on Justinian's legislation are in fact based on official notices, displayed in public, about the emperor's achievements. The argument is based on a combination of factors:— (i) the subject matter of the legal passages emphasizes the value of the codification for the ordinary citizen; (ii) Malalas' phraseology appears to be taken from official usage; (iii) Justinian is known to have sent official statements about his achievements which could be read in churches and other public places; (iv) such notices are the most likely source for Malalas' account of the emperor's activities, which he knew about only as a member of the general public and not as an official with inside information.

II Malalas' first passage on the codification (437.3—16)

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἀνενέωσε τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν προλαβόντων βασιλέων θεσπισθέντας, καὶ ποιήσας νεαροὺς νόμους ἔπεμψε κατὰ πόλιν, ὥστε τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει μὴ κτίζειν οἶκον ἢ ἀγοράζειν κτῆμα, εἰ μὴ τις συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχει, διὰ τὸ μὴ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς συγκεκτημένους ἢ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τινα διὰ τὴν ἀρχικὴν προστασίαν εἰς αὐτὸν διατίθεσθαι. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν παίδων, ὥστε κληρονομεῖν κατὰ τὸν Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βασιλέως νόμον. Καὶ περὶ τοῦ κληρονομοῦντος, ὥστε ἐξεῖναι αὐτῷ παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν κληρονομίαν ὅτε δ' ἂν βούληται, καὶ μὴ ἀποκλείεσθαι χρόνῳ. Περὶ δὲ τῶν μαρτύρων, ὥστε ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ ἄκοντας μαρτυρεῖν.

Malalas' first reference contains a simple statement about Justinian's codification of previous emperors' legislation. It is set in the year 528, when the decision to codify the laws was announced, and so ought to refer to that announcement rather than to the actual publication of the first edition which did not occur until the following year. However, in the same sentence, there follows a description of one of Justinian's new laws which was evidently designed to prevent magistrates from exploiting their office to acquire property and wealth. It must be identified as *Cj* I.53.1, and its importance is suggested by the fact that it is one of the very few (six) of Justinian's new laws of the first edition that merited a separate heading in the *Code*. It was also one of the last laws that could have been included in the first edition, its date being 27th or 29th November 528, some nine months after the decision to codify was announced. The date thus shows that, irrespective of what Malalas thought he was doing, his source could not simply have been recording the decision to codify and was very probably referring to the actual publication of the first edition of the *Code*.

In the following sentence Malalas mentions three more of Justinian's new laws: that natural-born children should have rights of inheritance in accord with a law of Anastasius; that heirs could renounce their inheritance whenever they wished and not be debarred by a time-limit; and that witnesses could be compelled to give evidence even against their will. This final law is certainly *Cj* IV.20.16, which is not dated (though it is earlier than 1/6/528),¹⁴ and, as with the account of *Cj* I.53.1, is a reasonably accurate description of the main point of the law, though

ignoring all the small print. The other two laws are more difficult to identify. The law about the inheritance of natural-born children may refer to *CJ* IV.57.5, but if so it misses the main point of that law, that the bastard children of women of illustrious birth should in no way be recognized and that recognition should only be extended to the illegitimate children of concubines of free condition by a freeman under a condition recognized by law (*sin concubina liberae condicionis constituta filium vel filiam ex licita consuetudine ad hominem procreavit*); and there is also a slight problem in the date, 17th October 529, some five months after the publication of the first edition.¹⁵ The identification of Malalas' law on heirs is even less satisfactory. Rotondi¹⁶ proposed *CJ* IV.30.19 of 29th October 529 or *CJ* IV.30.22 of 26th November 531, both of which certainly extend the right to deliberate (on whether or not to accept the inheritance and of making an inventory before deciding) to all heirs whether relatives or strangers, but both expressly mention a time-limit after which the heirs can no longer make any claims on an estate.

Despite these difficulties of identification, the four laws taken together do provide a remarkably favourable advertisement for Justinian's concern for his subjects' welfare, protecting the weak or lowly individual from being exploited by powerful magistrates, unwilling witnesses and the sins of his parents and strengthening his position as an individual in matters of inheritance. Whether it is an accurate picture is beside the point; it is a good advertisement for Justinian. And placed beside the codification, the four laws serve a further function. The codification might well have seemed a fine achievement to Justinian, but it apparently failed to capture the imagination of the ordinary Greek-speaking citizen for whom the action of simply collecting and editing old laws in Latin probably seemed both remote and irrelevant. But these new laws, at least as described by Malalas, provided on the other hand solid practical evidence of the value of Justinian as a legislator. If Justinian's original propaganda in the codes went largely unnoticed except among lawyers, it is at least likely that he would have attempted to produce a more relevant or meaningful advertisement which, if displayed in a city square or a church, as we know public notices were, would provide Malalas with an accessible source for his information here. Arguments supporting this, as indicated in my introduction, will follow. But we can note now that if Malalas' sources here are later official advertisements, this would also explain why Malalas can associate with the codification some laws that were enacted after its publication. The errors of course remain a problem, but perhaps they can be accounted for, if not very satisfactorily, as simply one-line headings for laws, which may also have been further modified by Malalas, who quite possibly did not bother to read the actual law or simply got it wrong.¹⁷ But the main point is that Justinian, by associating some of his own more popular laws with a statement about the codification, probably tried to make the codification itself seem more worthwhile and as a result more memorable, as well as advertising his own legislation.

III The phraseology of the legal passages

Before looking at Malalas' second passage on the codification, we need to examine whether he in fact uses a consistent official phraseology in the legal passages. Malalas has sixteen examples of Justinian's legislation spread over eleven

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passages. In the previous eight books covering the period from the birth of Christ, he has a further fourteen examples of imperial legislation included in thirteen passages. For the Justinianic passages, although there are too many variants to let us speak of some standard form of announcement where an official would merely fill in the blank spaces, it is possible to set out quite simply the limited range of vocabulary and the basic structural pattern. The table below shows the various structural elements in separate columns, with the range of choice for vocabulary in each column.

ὁ βασιλεὺς	ποιήσας θεσπίσας	νόμους θεῖον τύπον θείας σάκρας διάταξιν πρόσταξιν	περὶ and brief heading	ἐξεφώνησεν ἐξέθετο ἐθέσπισε (κατ-)ἔπεμψε προσέταξε	ὥστε ὅτι	simple statement of subject matter	destination of edict
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Needless to say not even Malalas produces anything quite so simple. I set out below the examples from Justinian's reign to illustrate the mode of expression in the legal passages.

καὶ ἐν ἑκάστη δὲ πόλει κατέπεμψε θείας σάκρας ὥστε τιμωρηθῆναι τοὺς ἀταξίας ἢ φόνους ποιοῦντας. . . . ὥστε μὴ τολμᾶν. . . . (422.15)

ἐξεφώνησεν ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς θεῖον τύπον περὶ ἐπισκόπων. . . . (430.12)

καὶ ποιήσας νεαροὺς νόμους ἔπεμψε κατὰ πόλιν ὥστε. . . . (437.4)

καὶ ποιήσας ἰδίους νόμους κατέπεμψεν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς τὸ τοὺς δικαζομένους μὴ περιπίπτειν θλίψεσι καὶ ζημίαις, ἀλλὰ ταχεῖαν ἔχειν τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν (448.7)

ἐθέσπισε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ὥστε μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι τοὺς ἐλληνίζοντας (449.6). . . . ὅστις θεῖος τύπος ἐνεφανίσθη ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐξωτικαῖς πόλεσιν. . . . (449.10)

ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς θεσπίσας πρόσταξιν ἔπεμψεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, κελεύσας μηδένα διδάσκειν φιλοσοφίαν μήτε νόμιμα ἐξηγεῖσθαι. . . . (451.16)

κατεπέμφθησαν δὲ σάκραι ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὥστε. . . . (468.1)

ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς κατέπεμψεν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι νόμους. . . . περὶ τῶν παρεχομένων δαπανημάτων. . . . ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν παρεχομένων σπορτούλων, θεσπίσας μηδένα τολμᾶν. . . . (470.19)

The only references to Justinian's legislation which do not fit the pattern are at 436.12, 478.12 (though the latter does quote the heading of the actual edict) and 495.6. The pattern is recognisable too, in a simplified form, for Anastasius' legislation, followed in the first case by what purports to be the actual words of the edict:

ἐξεφώνησεν ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς διάταξιν, ὥστε. . . , τῆς αὐτοῦ νομοθεσίας ἐχούσης οὕτως (401.9)

ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἕτερον ἐξέθετο θεῖον τύπον ὥστε. . . . (401.15).¹⁸

Although there are variations of several kinds on the basic structural pattern, the consistency in structure and vocabulary is still striking. But as Malalas' language is generally simple in structure and operates with a limited and repetitive vocabulary, it would be natural to accept that the pattern of language in these passages occurs simply because this is the normal way of describing such material. The same might well be said about the existence of the same pattern of language in other Byzantine chronicles, which may in any case be ultimately based on Malalas. However one passage in the *Paschal Chronicle* is worth investigation as it certainly seems to be part of an official document and thus at least suggests that Malalas' mode of expression may have come from a similar official source.

Καὶ τῇ κ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ δίου μηνός , τῆς ιβ' ἰνδικτιῶνος προέθηκεν θεῖον αὐτοῦ γράμμα ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, καταπέμψας καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων Θεουπόλει τῆς Συρίας καὶ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλει τῇ πρὸς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ τῇ πόλει τοῦ Ἰλλυριῶν ἔθνους καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πόλει τῆς Ἀσίας τὸ αὐτὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ γράμμα ὅπερ εἶχεν οὕτως.¹⁹

After this introduction, which loosely fits the language and construction of Malalas' legislative passages, the *Paschal Chronicle* quotes the text of *CJ* I.1.6 verbatim. But although he quotes exactly the same text as that in the *Code*, the chronicler clearly did not actually quote from the published *Code* but from an independent copy of the edict. For he preserves the full heading with Justinian's various honorific epithets and with the addressee given as "our citizens". Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Ἰουστινιανός, εὐσεβής, νικητής, τροπαιούχος, μέγιστος, ἀεισέβαστος, Αὐγούστος, πολίταις ἡμετέροις. In the *Code* this is reduced to conform with editorial policy to ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντινοπολίταις.²⁰ At the end the *Code's* copy is more legally precise and lists by name the places to which the edict was sent, whereas the *Chronicle* seems more like some announcement: "All the bishops got a copy of this in their own cities and displayed it in the churches".²¹ It is clear that the *Paschal Chronicle* has got hold of a copy, directly or indirectly, of an official document other than the copy actually published in Justinian's *Code*.²²

It is also very difficult not to believe that the Malalas-type formulaic introduction is not also from the same official document. The cities are named in a highly formal manner which must surely have been copied from an official document. The list of places to which the edict is to be sent differs quite significantly from that published in the *Code*, but this in fact supports the idea that it is taken from an official document. The decree after all is about the Trinity and condemns the heresies of Nestorius, Eutyches and Apollinarius, so it is unthinkable that Rome, Alexandria and Thessalonica, the three places included in the *Chronicle* but not in the *Code*, could have been exempt from its rulings. These three plus Constantinople, plus the three places listed jointly (Ephesus, Jerusalem and Antioch), made up the seven major churches. The nine other cities listed in the *Code* but not in the *Paschal Chronicle* (Caesarea, Cyzicus, Amida, Trebizond, Apamea, Justinianopolis, Sebasteia, Tarsus and Ancyra), though important enough in their own right, do not compare with the joint seven. Clearly the text in Justinian's *Code* is based not on the original version but on a copy to be despatched

to the eastern cities, and no doubt there were similar lists sent out to the churches subordinate to Rome, Thessalonica and Alexandria. Possibly the *Code's* version was simply taken from the first available copy that the codifiers could lay their hands on at a time when they may have been under some pressure to get out the second edition in a hurry, even though it did not finally appear for another twenty months.²³ But whatever the explanation may be, the important point is that we have here extremely good evidence that Malalas' formula was in fact taken from official jargon. For the *Paschal Chronicler* has used a source for our formula that is superior even to the *Codex Justinianus*.

It must be admitted that the use of the Egyptian month and the datives after a verb of motion (καταπέμψας καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥώμῃ) are not likely to have been admissible in official documents.²⁴ Yet this is the sort of variation a chronicler might make while still copying the general phraseology and format of the document. In this passage, however, it is the content that reveals that the passage is taken from an official document, and so the general formulaic nature of the phraseology seems likely to have come from the same official source.

We can also note the difference in language and style between Procopius and Malalas when they refer to legislation. For when Procopius does so, he is careful, as we might expect from a writer with his rhetorical training and literary pretension, to avoid actually quoting the law, but manages to draw on the information contained in the law without resorting to any of the formulaic elements.²⁵ Thus it is not simply a case of the combined requirements of language and subject-matter virtually prescribing for Malalas (or any other writer) a given formula. And even Malalas did manage on occasions to refer to Justinian's legislation without invoking the formula.²⁶

IV The availability and use of official notices by chronographers

Two questions need to be asked. If Malalas did use official notices, as I am claiming, what was their purpose and where did he find them? On the first question I have already suggested that Justinian's aim was to advertise to his subjects some of the benefits of his codification and the legislation contained in it. We can note Justinian's need for publicity or his fondness for it. Despite his pride in his military achievements and in his building programme, he still needed to commission writers to publicise them, Procopius for the buildings, John Lydus for the Persian war, not to mention sundry other eulogies.²⁷ But the Nika riot provides a better indication of the imperial announcements that Malalas used for the laws. Both Malalas and the *Paschal Chronicle*, at the conclusion of their narrative accounts of the riot, which may well have come from eye-witnesses, also tell us that Justinian sent throughout the empire an announcement of his quelling of the riot. "The emperor Justinian immediately revealed to all the cities within his kingdom the news of his victory and of the destruction of the usurpers who had risen up against him, undertaking zealously to build and make even better the great church, the palace and all the public places in the city that had been burned".²⁸

The actual information that Justinian divulged about the riot presumably differed somewhat from the popular versions preserved on this occasion by Malalas and the *Paschal Chronicle*. But there is also the version of the riot given by the Count Marcellinus. Of this J. B. Bury said that "We are justified in regarding

the notice in his chronicle as a quasi-official account", in that "Marcellinus, in sympathy with the existing regime, gave utterance to that interpretation of the revolt which Justinian and the court wished or feigned to believe — namely that it was not a genuine expression of popular feeling, but merely due to the machinations of Hypatius and his friends".²⁹ Bury did not go so far as to say that Marcellinus' account "was directly inspired" by Justinian, but, with his stress on Malalas and the *Paschal Chronicle* preserving the popular version, he did not make any allowance for their notice about the existence of the official version. But whether or not Marcellinus' account is based on this court version, as seems to me most likely, it is clear enough that Justinian did try to ensure, by means of an imperial notice, that his subjects learned the official version of the riot.

In this case Malalas and the *Paschal Chronicle* chose to ignore the official version apart from mentioning its existence. But Malalas frequently records both Justinian's and other emperors' announcements to all cities, both for the legal passages and on other subjects. The epilogues to Justinian's *Novels* also sometimes give instructions for the distribution and publication of a law.³⁰ The question is whether chroniclers made any use of such announcements.

The most noteworthy example is Heraclius' announcement of his victory over Siroes in a letter which he sent from his camp before setting out for Armenia and which was read from the altar of Hagia Sophia on the Sunday of Pentecost.³¹ This was a big event and worthy of advertisement, and the skilful imperial promotion of the victory is reflected in George of Pisidia and in Theophanes.³² But Heraclius' letter was also obviously made available, as the *Paschal Chronicle* is able to quote it verbatim (nearly eight pages in the Bonn text) together with a copy of Siroes' memorandum to Heraclius. The *Paschal Chronicle* can also quote verbatim Justinian's confession of faith, published as a *programma*,³³ and the text of *CJ* I.1.6. already mentioned. Malalas likewise would certainly seem to be quoting Anastasius' actual words for one edict, and this is prefaced by the formulaic introduction. And in a fragment preserved in the *Excerpta de insidiis*, Malalas can quote the text of the Empress Verina's proclamation of the usurper Leontius. Verina's proclamation, according to Malalas, was to the citizens of Antioch as well as to the authorities and soldiers of the East and of Egypt, and since its purport was to secure support for Leontius' usurpation, it was presumably publicized widely. It is worth noting also that Malalas' two citations of imperial statements do in fact both fall within the period for which he does claim to be relying on contemporary material.³⁴ John of Ephesus tells us that the speech by Justin II on his adoption of Tiberius was preserved because scribes were present to take it down in shorthand.³⁵ Evagrius knows something of the context of that speech and Theophylactus Simocatta (followed by Theophanes) can claim that he is reproducing it exactly and does so with such sufficient realism that J. B. Bury decided to translate it "very literally to reproduce the effect of the disjointed sentences of the feeble speaker".³⁶ Even if we prefer to give credit here to Theophylactus' rhetorical skill, John of Ephesus' statement is evidence that the speech was published and read by contemporaries. On this occasion the publication may have been unofficial, which assuredly was also the case for those sermons recorded and published by shorthand writers who were present among the congregation.³⁷ But the examples of the Nika riot, Heraclius' victory, Verina's proclamation and the other examples from the *Paschal Chronicle* are certainly official.

It is clear enough that emperors circulated notices of their achievements and that some of these notices became the source for statements in chronographers. We need to consider where they actually got hold of such documents. For Malalas, Glanville Downey has suggested that he used the archives of Antioch.³⁸ For this there is no evidence at all, for in the one place where the *acta* of Antioch are mentioned (which Downey cites more than once) Malalas makes it quite clear that it was not he but the local magistrates who read them.³⁹ They consulted the *acta*, so Malalas tells us, to see whether the city's name should be changed, following pressure from the holy man Symeon Thaumaturgus and an oracle. Malalas' story that the research work of the city fathers enabled them on this occasion to find documentary support for St. Symeon, who was eight years old at the time, may perhaps be taken as evidence for the existence of the *acta* as an historical record.⁴⁰ It is certainly not evidence for Malalas as an archivist and gives no clue about whether the *acta* contained contemporary material.

Downey cites von Stauffenberg in support, but his claim is in fact quite an unjustified extension of von Stauffenberg who, though he cites the *acta* story, is really only claiming that Malalas drew on a state chronicle for events long past.⁴¹ This may well be true but is a quite different matter from claiming that Malalas worked with original documents. The position would be parallel to Malalas' use of inscriptions where Downey has elsewhere demonstrated very convincingly that Malalas only knew the eighteen inscriptions that he cites, all for past history, at secondhand.⁴²

We have then no evidence that Malalas consulted the city of Antioch's official archives and not altogether convincing evidence that these even existed. It seems to me altogether more likely that, for contemporary events, Malalas found the material openly displayed in a public place. Here Justinian's eighth novel is of particular interest. In addition to requiring archbishops and patriarchs "to place the law in the holy church along with the sacred utensils", it also suggests that "your highness will act even more advantageously for all persons in your jurisdiction if you should cause this law to be engraved upon tablets or stone and placed at the portals of the holy church, as this measure will be beneficial by affording all persons the opportunity of reading it, and making themselves familiar with its contents".⁴³ This novel has nothing to do with the church but deals with various changes in provincial administration designed to remove corruption and maladministration, including the sale of offices. Justinian also prefaces it with a lengthy statement about his concern for his subjects' welfare and advertises the benefits of his legislation.

Given the length of this novel (fourteen pages), one might well wonder how often it was read right through or indeed even inscribed in its full length at all. Possibly abbreviated versions did occur.⁴⁴ But certainly it shows that Justinian's announcements were available in public and were meant to be read by his subjects. Whether Malalas read them in the church or in some other public place we cannot say, but there are points that favour the church. Of the eleven Justinianic legal passages mentioned by Malalas seven are connected with ecclesiastical matters. Since notices displayed in church could, like *Novel 8*, also be on secular subjects, Malalas could well have got all his legislative material for Justinian from church notices. If Malalas is to be identified as John Scholasticus, patriarch of Constantinople from 565 to 577, then he would certainly have had plenty of opportunity to consult notices posted in church precincts.⁴⁵ But

nevertheless the collecting and selecting of official material, if it depended on what Malalas actually saw and bothered to copy from public notices, must have been much more subject to chance than is assumed by those who believe that Malalas had access to official archives.

V Malalas' second passage on the codification

The second reference to the codification contains more awkward problems. It is set in 529 and so should presumably refer to the publication of the first edition. The phraseology is again formulaic and the content is very close to that of the first reference, apart from substituting a statement about the purpose of the *Code* for the description of the law that banned provincial governors from private enterprise. But then follows a reference to a *monobiblon*, which, from the syntax, ought to mean the *Code*, but whereas the *Code* is available ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι, the *monobiblon* is sent only to Athens and Beirut. The problems are: what is meant by the *monobiblon*, what is the significance of coupling Athens and Beirut, and why is there a second reference to the codification in such similar language? For the last question I have to admit I have no answer beyond a plain guess that Malalas got hold of two separate advertisements for the *Code* and tried to incorporate them as best he could. But the first two problems offer more scope for discussion.

Let us begin by comparing the two passages.

437. 3-16	448.6-9	448. 9-10
1 ἀνεπέωσε	ἀνακωδίκησιν ἐγένετο	
2 τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν προλαβόντων βασιλέων θεσπισθέντας	τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων	
3 καὶ ποιήσας νεαροῦς νόμους	καὶ ποιήσας ἰδίους νόμους	ὅπερ μονόβιβλον κατασκευάσας
4 ἔπεμψε κατὰ πόλιν	κατέπεμψεν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι	ἔπεμψεν ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ ἐν Βηρυτῶν
5 description of <i>CJ</i> 1.53.1	statement about purpose of codification	

A preliminary point. The statement about the purpose of the codification must surely be derived from Justinian's own announcement of the plan to codify the laws. That is the only place in the *Code* where we are told that the aim of the codification was to speed up the legal process, a statement which is now repeated and expanded in Malalas here.⁴⁶ We might assume from this, without much surprise, that Malalas has simply reversed his sources for the plan to codify and for the actual publication. But the following reference to the *monobiblon*, which, whatever it refers to, must mean the publication of something, argues against this.

To return to the comparison: each of the two passages mentions in very simple but similar language the fact that Justinian's great codification had taken place and then each draws attention, again in simple enough language, to a separate but spectacular feature of the codification. Hence my belief that we have here another official advertisement for Justinian's codification. In this second passage the advertisement expands and dramatizes Justinian's original statement about the purpose of the codification, while still remaining a lot simpler in language. So this

second passage looks like another example of Justinian's attempt to parade his achievement to a wider audience that could not or would not read the lengthy constitutions in full. More support comes from the use of ἀνανεόω in the first passage, a key word in Justinian's propaganda for his reign, while its counterpart in the second passage, ἀνακωδίκευσις picks up the same idea.⁴⁷

This interpretation, that we have here two advertisements for Justinian's achievement, based on an official source, may help explain the *monobiblon* and also gain support from it. In our text the *monobiblon* is identified by the syntax as being the *Code*, but our text of Malalas being abbreviated as it is, the possibility must be admitted that Malalas disregarded chronology and grouped all his references to Justinian's law reforms in the one place, in much the same way as Theophanes did in his account of the various foreign monarchs' conversion to Christianity.⁴⁸ If so, the *monobiblon* could refer either to the *Digest* or to the *Institutes*, neither of which is otherwise mentioned by Malalas. But then there would be the difficulty of "Athens". We would need to assume that Malalas had mistakenly substituted Athens for Rome (or Rome plus Constantinople) as the only places along with Beirut where law might in future be taught. This would be a violent error even for Malalas, which is a good reason for looking for an explanation that allows us to accept the text and identify *monobiblon* with the *Code*. Added support for the identification, if not proof, comes from Theophanes' account of the codification, which may well go back to an unabridged text of Malalas;⁴⁹ in Theophanes the published *Code* is described as *monobiblon*. If the identification is accepted, we then need to explain the apparent contradiction between the *Code* being sent to "all the cities" and the *monobiblon* going to Athens and Beirut. "All the cities", in fact, may well mean only the capitals of the provinces, which would exclude both Athens and Beirut.⁵⁰ My suggestion here is that the *monobiblon* refers to a copy of the *Code* sent to additional places where there was a particular need or a special copy sent for display. Beirut as the great centre for legal studies would obviously have needed the *Code* and perhaps Athens did also (see below). Or else Justinian may have had some particularly fine copies made to be distributed as a form of that kind of largesse plus advertisement of which he was so fond.⁵¹

Even the use of the word *monobiblon* seems to be part of the official propaganda about Justinian's achievement. The various constitutions introducing the *Code* and the *Digest* constantly harp on the reduction to a single work (*unus codex, unum volumen*).⁵² *Monobiblon*, as Th. Birt pointed out, refers to a work in one book, or at least a unity that lacked divisions;⁵³ and so it was a piece of sheer effrontery to describe the ten books (twelve in the second edition) of the *Code* by the term first used for Propertius' slim roll of verse. But for Justinian the term stressed the point that he wanted advertised, that the law was now prescribed and confined within the limits of a single work.⁵⁴ Finally we should note that the *monobiblon* extract too tries to make capital from or draw attention to Justinian's achievement by the use of simple but headline language.

There is still the matter of the coupling of Athens with Beirut. In such a context, Beirut, famed for generations as the *nutrix iuris*, must owe its special treatment to its great law school. Furthermore it was shortly to be given the exclusive right, along with the theoretically twin capitals of Rome and Constantinople, of teaching the law. Athens too was still a famous centre of learning; coupling it with Beirut here surely implies that Athens too had some official law-teachers paid for by the state. But Athens was soon to meet with

official displeasure. The teaching of law (as well as of philosophy) was to be forbidden at Athens within the same year, as Malalas tells us a little later on, which is, as Professor Alan Cameron has pointed out, the only evidence we have that Athens had a law school.⁵⁵

ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς θεσπίσας πρόσταξιν ἐπέμψεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, κελεύσας μηδένα διδάσκειν φιλοσοφίαν μήτε νόμιμα ἐξηγεῖσθαι. (451.16)

Professor Cameron has understandable misgivings about the value of Malalas' evidence, but this earlier passage makes Malalas' statement more secure.⁵⁶ This is of some importance since Cameron's doubts might well be increased by the notice in an unpublished chronicle which was undoubtedly derived from Malalas: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς πέμψας εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐκέλευσε μηδένα τολμᾶν διδάσκειν φιλοσοφίαν μήτε ἀστρονομίαν ἐξηγεῖσθαι.⁵⁷ It would be tempting to assume that the Oxford manuscript of Malalas is wrong and that the expounding of astronomy and not law was banned. This could be further supported by the reference in Procopius' *Secret History* to Justinian's harsh treatment of astrologers.⁵⁸ But with two references in Malalas, the balance is still tipped slightly in favour of the existence of an Athenian law school.

VI Malalas' use of official notices

If it can be accepted that Malalas made use of official notices, this has ramifications for the study of his chronicle, or at least offers scope for new investigations. To begin with, we should note two important differences between the legal passages for Malalas' own lifetime in books sixteen to eighteen and its use for past events in the earlier books. First, for the period from Anastasius to Justinian, it is often just the law that is being recorded as an event. The decree is simply stated without any context or reason and so clearly it is just the edict that is considered important and worthy of record. But for Justinian's predecessors the law is almost invariably placed in a context which explains why the law was made. So far from being important in itself, the law is sometimes merely incidental in the telling of a tale. That is, the bare official document has been given some literary treatment, so that it simply forms part of a tale or event worth recording.⁵⁹ The legal point itself is quite minor and in fact the pre-Anastasius passages tell us virtually nothing about actual legislation. Second, whereas almost all the Anastasian and Justinianic passages conform closely to the same simple language pattern, the legal passages in the earlier books, though generally having obvious signs of similarity with this pattern, do not conform with it nearly so closely. The explanation for this difference in both subject matter and language between the contemporary and the earlier passages is, I think, both simple and important. For non-contemporary events Malalas could simply rely on earlier chronicles. He did not have to do any documentary research.⁶⁰ So for past events Malalas himself did not actually seek out and use official announcements about laws. Earlier writers had already done this and incorporated the results in their works which Malalas was later to exploit. But the point is that these official notices must have formed part of the normal source material for contemporary events. This again fits the development of Christian historical writing with its emphasis on the use of documentary material.⁶¹ Thus it is not surprising to find that Malalas, when he got around to the job of recording contemporary events, turned naturally to these

contemporary documentary sources. The official notices thus became part of his chronicle, often unembellished, perhaps because Malalas lacked the skill or interest to do more than record the material, whereas for earlier periods he could simply take over accounts where the notices had already sometimes been successfully incorporated in a narrative.

This distinction between the contemporary and earlier passages appears to provide a useful illustration of Malalas' own claim about his methods. In his preface to the *Chronicle*, he states that for past events he took the highlights from Moses and numerous chronographers (he lists nine and claims that there were many others) as well as poets and other wise men, whereas he relied "in my own times, I mean from the rule of Zeno and those who ruled in succession after him, on the things that came to my notice".⁶² His history was meant to be a contemporary history, as E. Bickerman pointed out, and his only contribution was to write the record of his own times, while for the past he was merely a compiler.⁶³

Unfortunately Malalas does not tell us how things came to his notice. Here we need to ask, how did a chronographer go about writing contemporary history? Unlike Procopius (and the same point can be made for most of the major classical historians) whose public career gave him access to excellent sources and put him in a position both to evaluate these sources and to make his own observations, it is unlikely that Malalas either played much part in public affairs, or had any valuable contacts or was in any position to evaluate his sources. He viewed events as a member of an uninformed general public, not as someone with a role to play in the main action.⁶⁴ Even if Malalas can be identified as the patriarch John Scholasticus, much of his chronography was probably completed before his elevation, especially if he was able to use contemporary sources from the period of Zeno who died 74 years earlier. Presumably he did use oral sources, but the only features of the work that suggest such sources are just occasional bits of descriptive narrative, often of a rather trifling nature. In Book 18 his oral sources may well have provided Malalas with his accounts of riots (including Nika) and earthquakes (in particular the sufferings of survivors) and stories such as that of the dog which, among other marvellous tricks, could point out accurately pregnant women, brothel-keepers, adulterers, misers and braggarts.⁶⁵ Malalas perhaps reveals the oral origin of this kind of material since here alone he usually manages to write a lively, vivid, quick-moving narrative that is so very different from his usual plodding record. But for this standard stuff Malalas may well have had to rely on such information as the emperor or the bureaucracy chose to publicize; or even if he did not have to rely on it, such material must have provided the simplest and most obvious way of compiling an account of current events.

My suggestion here is that the public notices and Malalas' use of them may well go much further than just the formulaic legal announcements. We have already seen that Justinian sent out an official version of the Nika riot, and much of Malalas' account of Justinian reads like a court circular, with notices of imperial largesse and philanthropy, legations, military appointments and other matters of court. The dull catalogue of the emperor's activities — the material that modern historians probably consider the most valuable part of the chronography — may well be taken purely from such official notices, and again it does have a rather uniform character. And how else could Malalas have known about such events? The emperor and the bureaucracy could largely control the amount, quality and viewpoint of the news distributed to the public.⁶⁶ We have seen that Justinian had

to commission writers to publicize his achievements. The smaller notices were simply put on the notice-boards in the towns and in the churches. Provincial governors and bishops were both expected to help publicize edicts. That was how information was disseminated. And if Malalas used such information, it is hardly surprising that there are some slight signs of a monophysite point of view in Book 16 on Anastasius and of an orthodox one in Book 18 on Justinian.⁶⁷ It is agreed that Malalas used his ancient sources uncritically, and there seems little reason to suppose that he was in any better position to evaluate contemporary documents. He could either include them or omit them. To that extent Malalas' record of the great matters of state reflects closely the information and interpretation that the court wanted to be known, and as such it is of considerable importance.⁶⁸

Footnotes

1. John Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831; hereafter, Malalas), 437.3-16; 448.6-10. Except where specifically stated, "Malalas" refers to the abbreviated text of that author surviving in the Codex Baroccianus as edited by Dindorf. Where I give statistics for Malalas, the various additional fragments have been ignored.
2. Malalas, 451.16. A. Cameron, "The Last Days of the Academy at Athens", *ProcCambPhilolSoc*, 15 (1969), 8. Likewise Kuebler, *RE*, 2, 1A, col. 394 s.v. Rechtsunterricht; L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts* (Vienna, 1953), 616.
3. The references to Justinian's codification in non-legal sources have been conveniently collected by G. Rotondi, "La codificazione giustiniana attraverso le fonti extragiuridiche" in his *Scritti giuridici*, II (Milan, 1922), (first published in *RISG*, 60 [1918], 239-68) (hereafter, "Codificazione").
4. Procopius, *Aedificia*, in *Opera*, ed. J. Haury, revised G. Wirth, 4 vols., Teubner (1964), vol. 4, 1.1.10; Rotondi, "Codificazione", 342-3.
5. Lydus' attitude to Justinian's codification is somewhat elusive. His one direct comment is very favourable, but it is set in a paragraph of fulsome praise of Justinian's achievements to mark the opening of his separate monograph on the praetorian prefecture (*De magistratibus populi Romani*, ed. R. Wuensch, Teubner [1924], III.1, p. 87, lines 20 ff.). For the three other references his tone is perhaps plaintive and his wording guarded (II.10, p. 66 line 17; III.23, p. 111, line 10; III.40, p. 129, line 19). Where he chooses to attack the abolition of an old law in strong language (νόμος . . . ἄρτι παροφθεις ἐξ ἀβελτερίας, ἢ τ' ἀληθές εἰπεῖν, κακοδαιμονίας [III.20, p. 107, line 15]), he is careful not to blame the codifiers. (Cf. also II.15, p. 70, line 25; II.17, p. 73, line 3; III.11, p. 97, line 13; III.12, p. 98, line 22).
6. PG, 92, cols. 869, 895; ed. L. Dindorf, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1832), 619, 633.
7. MGH, *AA*, XI (Berlin, 1894), 103; PL, 51, col. 941.
8. Bede, *De temporum ratione*, PL, 90, col. 564; MGH, *AA*, XIII (Berlin, 1898), 307. Cf. Rotondi, "Codificazione", 360 (note 4 should read P.Lat. 90.292, not 229) for those who copied Bede and Marcellinus. The remaining Western knowledge of

the codification came in the ninth century with Anastasius' Latin translation of Theophanes (who may well have taken his information from Malalas' text; but cf. note 49 below), and the rather more detailed statement of Paul Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* (MGH, *ScriptRerLangob*, [Hanover, 1878] 1.25). Modern scholars generally believe Paul's statement comes from first-hand knowledge of Justinian's Code rather than from the chronicle tradition (cf. Rotondi, "Codificazione", 362).

9. Isidore lists the world's great legislators as Moses, Pharaoh, Solon, Lycurgus, Numa, the Decemviri, Pompey, Caesar, Constantine and Theodosius II (*Etymologiae*, ed. W. M. Lindsay [Oxford, 1911], V.1, *De auctoribus legum*). The omission of Justinian from this list is remarkable testimony to the lack of knowledge concerning his legislation.

10. H.F. Jolowicz, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge, 1952), 491-2. D. Holwerda, "Le code de Justinien et sa traduction grecque", *CIMed*, 23 (1962), 274. Holwerda cites N. Van der Wal, *Les commentaires grecs du Code de Justinien* (The Hague, 1953), 55, which I have not seen.

11. See e.g. *CJ Constitution, Haec*, preface and 3. Cf. *Digest Constitution, Deo, Digest Constitution, Omnem* and *Digest Constitution, Tanta, passim*.

12. B. Rubin, *Das Zeitalter Justinians*, I (Berlin, 1960) 146-68 (hereafter, *Justinian*).

13. The other laws with separate headings promulgated before the publication of the first edition are *CJ*, VI.41.1; VII.3.1; 17.1; 70.1; VIII.21.1. There are an additional fourteen Justinianic laws on new

topics dated after the publication of the first edition of the code on 7th April 529.

14. I.e. the date of *CJ*, IV.20.17. Krueger, *ad loc.*, suggests 527 for *CJ*, IV.20.16.

15. For other attempts at identification, see Rotondi, "Codificazione", 345.

16. *Ibid.*, 345, note 5.

17. Cf. Rubin, *Justinian*, 231-2: "So stehen wir einem völlig naiven Skribentem gegenüber;...der seine zum Teil höchst wertvollen Notizen einfach den offiziellen Verlautbarungen des Zeitalters entnimmt. So ergibt sich eine ausgesprochen höfische Tendenz". On Malalas' errors see A. S. von Stauffenberg, *Die römische Kaiser-geschichte bei Malalas* (Stuttgart, 1931); E. Bickerman, "Les Maccabées de Malalas", *Byzantion*, 21 (1951), 63-83, and Elizabeth M. Jeffreys, "The Attitude of Byzantine Chroniclers towards Ancient History", *Byzantion*, 49 (1979), 199-238, esp. 217-21.

18. For comparison the text of the earlier legal passages is set out below. Although they have obvious signs of similarity with the Justinianic passages, they do not conform with the pattern so closely: τὸ οὐν ἡδικτον προετέθη περιέχον οὕτως (Book 9, 216.14: Julius Caesar); ἐθέσπισεν ἐκφωνήσας δόγμα ὥστε. . . Book 9, 226.1: Augustus); ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Κόμμοδος διὰ θείας αὐτοῦ κελεύσεως προσεκύρωσε τῷ δημοσίῳ τὰς προσόδους, θεσπίσας ... (Book 12, 284.9); ἐποίησεν εὐθέως θείαν αὐτοῦ διατάξιν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν πολιτείαν, ὥστε ... (Book 12, 305.17: Carinus); τὰς ἐκκλησίας τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀνέωξε, πανταχοῦ σάκρας

- καταπέμψας (Book 13, 317.11: Constantine);
 ανέδωκε τὰς ἐκκλησίας τοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις, πανταχοῦ ποιήσας σάκρας (Book 13, 344.14: Theodosius I);
 ἐποίησε παπᾶν ..., ποιήσας διάταξιν (Book 13, 361.9: Theodosius II).
 διάταξιν αὐτοῦ θεῖαν ἐξεφώνησε, . . . μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι πρασίνοῦς ἐκέλευσε (Book 14, 368.14: Marcian);
 ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Λέων διωγμὸν ἐποίησε ... διατάξεις πανταχοῦ καταπέμψας μὴ ... (Book 14, 372.3);
 ποιήσας διάταξιν μὴ στρατεύεσθαι Σαμαρείτην (Book 15, 383.2: Zeno);
 ἐποίησε διάταξιν περὶ ἐκάστου νόμου (Book 15, 384.19: Theoderic).
19. *Chronicon Paschale*, 630.
 20. The editorial policy is set out at *CJ Constitution, Haec*, 2.
 21. τὸ ἴσον δὲ τούτου οἱ ἐπίσκοποι πάντες ἔλαβον ἐν ταῖς ἰδιαῖς πόλεσι, καὶ προέθηκαν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις (*Chronicon Paschale*, 630).
 22. See also Rubin, *Justinian*, 415, who, however, does not draw attention to these differences.
 23. I speculate here that Justinian took his third and fourth consulships in 533 and 534 in order to associate the publication of the various law works more closely with his name, and that, as a result, the codifiers were under some pressure to complete the second edition before the end of 534. They presumably were too busy to begin serious work until after the publication of the *Digest* (16 Dec. 533), but still managed to get the *Code* published by 16 Nov. 534 (although it was then delayed for nearly another six weeks till 27 Dec. 534 before coming into effect, as against a nine-day delay for the first edition, which again perhaps

suggests the need for quite a bit of hasty last-minute revision). The following points need to be considered:

- (i) The holding of even a third consulship was not common among emperors and consecutive consulships were very rare indeed. In the previous century the only emperors to take more than two consulships had been Theodosius II (18), Valentinian III (8), Leo I (5), Zeno (3) and Anastasius (3), and in each case the consulships were spread over a longer period. The only examples of consecutive consulships in the fifth and sixth centuries are Theodosius II (411/412), 415/416, 438/439) and Valentinian III (425/426, where 426 was his first full year as emperor, for which the consulship was normal). Most imperial iterated consulships have intervals of four, five or ten years. For details see A. Degraffi, *Fasti consulari dell'impero romano* (Rome, 1952), 98-100, 284-6 and R. Guiland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin: le consul", *Byzantion*, 24 (1954), 545-78, and *ibid.*, 25-27 (1955-57), 697-711 (= *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, II [Amsterdam, 1967], 44-67).
- (ii) Justinian had not appointed any consuls for the previous two years (531/532). If there was no real need to have a consul at all, there must have been some compelling reason for his taking the consulship for the next two years.
- (iii) Justinian certainly used his first two consulships (521, 528) for remarkable displays of magnificence and generosity (Marcellinus, year 521, PL, 51, col. 940; *Chronicon Paschale*, 617), though this was not unusual (R. MacMullen, "The Emperor's Largesses", *Latomus*, 21 [1961], 160-6;

R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* [Berlin and Leipzig, 1929], 1.68 ff.). For Justinian's attitudes, see *Novel 105 of A.D. 536*. See too Averil Cameron, ed., *Corippus: In Laudem Iustini* (London, 1976), esp. 194-8.

(iv) Justinian (*Digest Constitution, Tanta, 23*) stressed the association of his third consulship with the publication of the *Institutes* and *Digest* and the expansion of the empire (cf. Rubin, *Justinian*, 160). Given Justinian's somewhat ambivalent attitude to Belisarius, who was to be consul in 535, and whose extravagant consulship may have provoked the limitations set out in *Novel 105* (hinted at by Cameron, *op. cit.*, 197 on line 103, but cf. E. Stein, *BZ*, 30 [1929/30], 376-81 who thinks the novel was directed at John of Cappadocia), Justinian may have been the more eager for the *Code* to be completed in his own consulship in 534.

(v) The mass of legislation passed on 18th October 532 (twenty pieces for the day) looks like the last big attempt to get the laws in order for the *Code* (there were only another 22 pieces of legislation in the next two years), and Justinian may well have felt that he had thus provided all the necessary material for the codifiers, who would then be under some pressure to get on with the codification as quickly as possible.

24. Cf. A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar* (London, 1897), 380 (§1565): "as was to be expected during the period of confusion, ἐν was used very frequently for εἰς, occasionally even with the accusative". The examples cited go back as early as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, I.185.12 ἐλθεῖν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ (but printed εἰς Ἰταλίαν in modern editions). Cf. P. Karlin-Hayter, "Vita S. Euthymii",

Byzantion, 25 (1955), especially 154-9, 163; P. Van den Ven, "Erreurs de méthode dans la correction conjecturale des textes byzantins", *Byzantion*, 24 (1954), 19-45. If the text owed its dissemination to a shorthand writer (cf. note 37 below), the forms are all the more explicable.

25. Procopius *De bello Vandalico*, in *Opera*, (as in note 4) vol. 1, 1.3; *Anecdota, ibid.*, vol. 3, 7.31-32; 11.1-2; 11.14-30; 13.21-23; 14.8-10; 20.5-12; 28.7-10, 16-18; 29.19-25. Since Procopius' writing is so different from Malalas', it is difficult to produce comparable examples, but the very lack of comparability supports my point. Rotondi, "Codificazione", 342, notes 1, 4, 5, suggests possible identifications of some of the legislation to which Procopius is alluding in these passages.

26. Malalas, 436.12, 478.12, 495.6.

27. Procopius, *Aedificia*, 1.3.1. J. A. S. Evans, *Procopius* (New York, 1972), 77. Lydus, *De magistratibus populi Romani*, III, 28, p. 116, lines 10-12. For other eulogists of Justinian, see T. Viljamaa, *Studies in Greek Encomiastic Poetry of the Early Byzantine Period* (Helsinki, 1968), 31-3, 60-2.

28. *Chronicon Paschale*, 628-9.

29. J. B. Bury, "The Nika Riots", *JHS*, 17 (1892), 93; Marcellinus, year 532 (PL, 51, col. 940). I append a translation of the notice: "The cousins Hypatius, Pompeius and Probus (they were also nephews of the deified Anastasius) each had an unworthy ambition to reach the throne and so they formed a conspiracy consisting of many aristocrats along with the entire mob of trouble-makers who had been won over by the supply of arms and gifts, and, on the thirteenth of January

attempted to gain the throne by fraud. For five successive days, like an ungodly enemy these evil citizens went rampaging through the city, destroying it in a spree of plunder, arson and violence, while the cousins, putting on a facade of loyalty to the state, remained in the palace. Finally on the fifth day of this outrageous behaviour, Hypatius wearing a golden chain and Pompeius clad in armour under his clothes, with their band of evil associates, moved from the forum to march on the palace. The pair of them were arrested at the palace gates and immediately put in chains at the command of our most pious emperor.

They were executed and so perished and paid their penalty without ever gaining the throne. An enormous number of people were killed all over the circus; and the associates of the tyrants were proscribed without delay. The same Augustus soon began to restore the church which was burned at that time".

30. Cf *Constitution, Summa*, 5 provides for a signed copy of the Code to be sent to each province. *Novel* 110.1 refers to a law "recorded in all the provinces". *Novel* 1, *epilogue* 1 gives more details: "It shall be proclaimed through the provinces to all the nations.... As soon as the judges of the principal cities receive this law they shall (as has already been decreed by us) publish it in every town in their jurisdiction" (trans. S. P. Scott, *The Civil Law* [London, 1932]). Cf. *Novel* 6, *epilogue* 2 which provides for copies of a law (on the church) being despatched to the patriarchs and to the praetorian prefects, with the patriarch of Constantinople being required to inform the provincial governors of its provisions. *Novel* 8

(which also advertises the practical benefits of Justinian's legislation) requires archbishops to have the law inscribed on stone or tablets and placed by the door of the church. See the discussion below. On the practice of addressing laws to prefects, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1964), III, 76-7, notes 14-15.

31. *Chronicon Paschale*, 727-34.

32. George of Pisidia, *Epinikion* and *Hexaemeron*; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883-5; hereafter, Theophanes), *A.M.* 6119 (327-8); cf. J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene* (London, 1889), 244 ff.

33. *Chronicon Paschale*, 635-84.

34. Malalas, 401.12-14, where he cites Anastasius using the first person; Constantine Porphyrogenitus *Excerpta de insidiis*, ed. C. de Boor (repr. Berlin, 1965), 35 (for Verina's proclamation). Cf. Malalas, 388.17-20; Theophanes, *A.M.* 5974 (129). For Malalas' statement on his sources, cf. note 60, below.

35. John of Ephesus, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History*, trans. R. P. Smith (Oxford, 1860), III.4.

36. Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898), V.13; Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor, revised P. Wirth, Teubner (1972), III.11; Theophanes, *A.M.* 6070 (248-9); Bury, *op. cit.*, 77.

37. Ann Moffatt, "The Occasion of the St. Basil's Address to Young Men", *Antichthon*, 6 (1972), 78 (and references given there) on the use of shorthand writers for Basil, Cyril of Jerusalem and Origen.

38. G. Downey, "Imperial Building

- Records in Malalas", *BZ*, 38 (1938), 12; *idem*, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton, 1961; hereafter, *History*), 37 ff.
39. Malalas, 443.20; E. K. Chrysos, "Eine Konjektur zu Johannes Malalas", *JÖB*, 15 (1966), 147-52.
40. Chrysos, *op. cit.*, plausibly argues that St. Symeon has replaced Justinian in the original text.
41. Stauffenberg, *op. cit.* (as in note 17), 112.
42. G. Downey, "References to Inscriptions in the Chronicle of Malalas", *TAPA*, 66 (1935), 55-73.
43. Translated by S. P. Scott, *The Civil Law* (London, 1932).
44. *Novel* 8, in addition to the main text, includes notices varying in length from a few lines to several pages, with different addressees, on particular aspects of the legislation. It is not altogether clear exactly what the bishops were expected to publish.
45. J. Haury, "Johannes Malalas identisch mit dem Patriarchen Johannes Scholastikos?", *BZ*, 9 (1900), 337-56. The identification is still considered possible (e.g. most recently H. G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* [Munich, 1978], 368).
46. Cf. *Constitution, Haec, 3: ad citiores litium decisiones fiat iudiciis* (13th Feb. 528). Elsewhere the benefits are put in more general terms, e.g. *Digest Constitution, Summa, 2: ut et rebus profuturus esset communibus et nostro convenisset imperio*. Cf. *Digest Constitution, Cordi, 3* which by implication gives clarification as the main benefit of the codification, and *Digest Constitution, Tanta, 13* which, in addition to clarification, stresses compactness and thence accessibility and a reduction in costs.
47. Procopius, *Aedificia, passim*; G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London, 1963), 86; J. B. Ward-Perkins, "A New Group of Sixth Century Mosaics from Tripolitania", *RACr*, 34 (1958), 183-95 (on a mosaic personification of Ananeosis).
48. Theophanes, *A.M.* 6020 (174-6).
49. Theophanes, *A.M.* 6021 (177.17-21). The identification of the *Code* as *monobiblon* in Theophanes weakens N. G. Wilson's explanation that "none of the publications mentioned (i.e., *Digest*, 1st and 2nd edition of *Code*) was a single book, so Malalas must be referring to a set of laws designed to speed the administration of justice" (*An Anthology of Byzantine Prose* [Berlin, 1971], 26). That it was the *Code per se* rather than a separate set of laws that was to have this effect, see *Constitution, Haec, 3* (cited at note 46 above). For Justinian's emphasis on the codification being a single work, see note 52.
- It would however be wrong to take it for granted that Theophanes' variations are based on a more reliable text of Malalas. It would be characteristic of Theophanes to edit Malalas here by combining Malalas' two statements on the codification into one. Theophanes' techniques of adapting his source (and not always faithfully) are best illustrated in his account of the Vandal War (*A.M.* 6026; 186-216) which, although simply a précis of Procopius, differs from Procopius factually at various places as well as carefully altering Procopius' phraseology. Cf., too, Theophanes' adaptations of Eutropius (*A.M.* 5785-5796; 7-11) and his muddled use of sources for the Nika riot (*A.M.* 6024; 181-6) on which see A. D. Cameron, *Circus*

Factions (Oxford, 1976), 322-9. Cf. C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara", *DOP*, 27 (1973), 265; C. Mango, "The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire A.D. 750-850", in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 35-7; A. S. Proudfoot, "The Sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian Dynasty", *Byzantion*, 44 (1974), 367-439.

50. See note 30 for distribution of edicts.

51. G. Mathew, *op. cit.*, 82.

52. E.g. *unus codex: Cj Constitution, Haec*, 1, 3, *Cj Constitution, Summa*, 1, *Digest Constitution, Deo*, 1, 2; *unum corpus: Cj Constitution, Cordi*, preface; *unum volumen: Digest Constitution, Deo*, 2; *unus (liber): Digest Constitution, Deo*, 4.

53. Th. Birt, "Zur Monobiblos und zum Codex N des Properz", *RhM*, 64 (1909), 393-411, especially 394-5. Birt's conclusions have been widely accepted. See Basile Atsalos, *La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l'époque byzantine* (Thessalonica, 1971), 65-6, especially 65 note 9 and literature cited there. Birt's most convincing evidence comes from the *Digest's Index auctorum*, 31, for the works of Modestinus, which begins with a list of six works containing from four to nineteen books. Then there is the entry τοῦ αὐτοῦ μονόβιβλα and there follow a further nine works evidently of one book each. This use of *monobiblon* is borne out elsewhere in the *Index auctorum* and also in *Digest Constitution, Δέδωκεν*, 5.

54. Justinian's effrontery was in vain. Psellus, *Synopsis legum* (PG122, col. 925A) refers to Justinian's *Code*

as a πτυχίον δωδεκάβιβλον. See Atsalos, *op. cit.*, 64 and 103.

55. Cf. note 2 above. Cameron is only prepared to accept even the reference to the closing of the philosophical schools because of the circumstantial nature of the report on the law school.

56. See also N. G. Wilson, *op. cit.* (as in note 49), 26, who also sees this passage as evidence for an Athenian law school.

57. Codex Vaticanus Graecus 163, fol. 26^v, lines 25-7. I must thank Monseigneur Paul Canart of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana for identifying the MS and for supplying me with the correct reading. The passage (with slight variations) was cited by Alemannus in his *editio princeps* of Procopius, *Anecdota* (Lyons, 1623) and by E. Chilmead in Hody's *editio princeps* of Malalas (Oxford, 1691).

58. *Anecdota*, 11.37-9.

59. Of the passages from the earlier books see especially 284.9, 317.11, 368.14 and 384.19.

60. K. Wolf, *RE*, 9, cols. 1795-6, *s.v.* Ioannes 22 (Malalas), for a good summary, though not aware of Malalas' preface. See E. Bickerman, *op. cit.* (as in note 17), 70 note 4. G. Downey, *History*, 38-40.

61. A. Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D.", in A. Momigliano, ed., *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1963), 79-99.

62. The text, which is not in the Oxford MS, was published by V. Istrin from Cod. Par. Gr. Suppl. 682 in *MASP*, 1, 8 (1879). This passage can more easily be consulted in E. Bickerman, *op. cit.*, 70.

63. E. Bickerman, *op. cit.*, 71.
64. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Munich, 2nd ed. 1897), 325 ff.; J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (London, 1923), II, 435. For an important reappraisal of the social status and political involvement of Byzantine chroniclers (though not affecting Malalas specifically beyond a warning note), see H.-G. Beck, "Zur byzantinischen 'Monchschronik'", *Speculum Historiale* (Freiburg-Munich, 1965), 88-197.
65. Malalas, 453.15 - 454.4.
66. T. F. Carney, "Looking for a Writer's Picture of Reality", *Revue de l'Organisation internationale pour l'étude des langues anciennes par ordinateur*, 2 (1968), 56-81; *idem*, *Bureaucracy in Traditional Society* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1971).
67. It is well beyond the scope of this article to tackle the difficult related questions of the number of sixth-century redactions of Malalas and the origins and religious leanings of the author or authors, which so engaged scholars such as Gelzer, Freund, Patzig, Gleye and Bury at the end of the last century. But it is worth pointing out that the argument for Malalas' orthodoxy in Book 18 rests basically on two passages first cited by Hody in 1691 (449.7 and 478.12) and both look like official notices. Gleye's arguments for Malalas' monophysitism (*BZ*, 5 [1896], 422 f. and *BZ*, 8 [1899], 312-37) carry more weight, but the evidence is still thin.
68. For their comments on an earlier draft of this paper I am much indebted to Professor R. Browning, Professor G. W. Clarke, P. Karlin-Hayter, M. J. Riddle and Professor I. Ševčenko.

Theophanes' Account of the Reign of Heraclius

Jenny Ferber

The basic reference work on Byzantine historical writers still remains that of Krumbacher. He defined, or invented, a series of fundamental differences between history and chronography which link the writer's social background to the method he uses for composition, the form he chooses to write in, the subject matter his work covers, the style in which he writes and finally the public who reads the work.¹ This all-embracing bipartite system of categorizing Byzantine historical writing has more recently been examined from various angles and its overall validity called into question. The central questions of the relationship between chronography and the other forms of historical writing, whether chronography can be distinguished from history, and if so on what grounds, have thus been reopened.

Beck in his article on the Byzantine "monk's chronicle" firstly questioned Krumbacher's idea of the social division between the writers and readers of history and chronography and concluded that the chroniclers' social origins were not as Krumbacher had assumed. That is, they were not written by lowly monks for an ill-educated audience and thus distinct from histories written by men of high culture and social position.² This led Beck to examine the type of the Byzantine monk and the nature of monkish writing, looking for evidence of social differences in the works themselves. He concluded that there will be different degrees of "monkishness" between different monks' chronicles.³ In Theophanes' case, Beck argues, an examination of his writing shows that, far from representing the Studite monks' party which arose in the eighth and ninth centuries, he opposed it on a number of issues⁴ and stood by his high social position and ties.⁵

Beck also examined Krumbacher's judgement on the content of chronographical writing, questioning the view that church interest is paramount. He concluded that the examples show that the more or less theologically coloured tendencies of the chronicles do not obscure the view of the reign as a whole or the imperial majesty.⁶ Indeed he suggested that interest in imperial majesty is in some cases paramount.⁷ In dealing with Theophanes' treatment of Heraclius I hope to show that at least for this reign the two areas of religion and imperial majesty are inextricably interrelated.

Beck concluded that while chronography is a uniform genre there is no firm ground for distinguishing it from real history. In the genre of history the concentration of the historian on a particular period of time forces the annalistic elements into the background in the interests of a united and continuous presentation of the phases of one reign. In the case of Theophanes' *Chronographia*, although the annalistic elements predominate, there remains, I believe, a cohesive account of each reign.

This assessment must depend on the degree to which one sees the task of chronography as one of pure compilation, as was suggested originally by Krumbacher and re-stated recently by Proudfoot,⁸ or the degree of historical

interpretation one allows to chronography. Proudfoot sees Theophanes as an "unoriginal compiler"⁹ and states that "the only accurate assessment of the *Chronographia* which is fundamental must be based on knowledge of his sources" and that "Theophanes apparently used all the information available to him and therefore it is a reasonable assumption that his work represents the sum total of historical sources from the seventh century, that is, an indication of the general state of Byzantine literature from the seventh century to the ninth".¹⁰ However, there are elements in both the content and structure of Theophanes' work which show historical interpretations peculiar to Theophanes and not mindlessly lifted from his sources. It must be recognized that the way an historian (or chronographer?) uses his sources will be determined by his own system of categorization and choice of points of focus. At the same time his opinion of what makes the study of a period meaningful will, of course, have been reached in the light of his sources. While the evidence which we have might suggest, as Proudfoot claimed, that Theophanes used all available sources, any approach to chronography which allows the chronographer any faculty of interpretation must also allow the possibility of other sources available to him being rejected, on whatever grounds, and the possibility of sources being juggled and distorted in line with his views.

One scholar who by implication allows chronographers this interpretative faculty is Tinnefeld in his study of Byzantine "Kaiserkritik".¹¹ He argues that Theophanes' criticism of emperors grows more intense the closer it gets to his own time, culminating in his account of Nicephorus I. It may be partly because what Tinnefeld is looking for is "categories" of criticism that this progression in intensity of criticism is so obvious. He points to this progression in a few areas we can assume would have concerned Theophanes — e.g. Iconoclasm and hence Monotheletism, Arabs and Bulgars in the Empire and perhaps fiscal policy. If one looks only for criticism of an emperor, applying this too narrow perspective, one ignores — in Tinnefeld's case intentionally — the other aspects which contribute to Theophanes' judgement of each emperor's reign. Rather than being a purely derivative "innocent" or "objective" account taken uncritically from the sources, punctuated occasionally with criticisms in line with specific interests relevant to his life-time, Theophanes' account of Heraclius' reign is carefully structured and the sources edited to show both positive and negative features. An intensification of criticism as it approaches contemporary history should not be taken as implying a lack of evaluation and unwillingness to make a judgement in more distant history.

Another way of looking at the source question is to say that it is our lack of knowledge of the "perspective" of a chronographer that causes us to miss the fact that he is interpreting his sources. This is an alternative to saying that he gave no interpretation, on the assumption that he had only the sources we can identify.

An examination of Theophanes' account of one reign, that of Heraclius, suggests that his work is in fact a meaningfully categorized whole, and not a patchwork of sources. In doing this I have not gone into any detail on his use of even the sources which are available to us, in particular George of Pisidia, but have taken his text as it stands and, in order to elucidate some of the issues which appear to have been of concern to Theophanes, I have for the sake of time and clarity made some bold judgements about his purpose. I have sometimes made

explicit intentions out of what are in the text admittedly no more than implicit suggestions.

Theophanes' account and evaluation of the reign of Heraclius falls into two distinct sections. The first presents a positive view of the earlier years of his reign, from Heraclius' rise to power to the end of the Persian campaigns, *A.D.* 611-629 (*A.M.* 6102-20), a period in which Heraclius is presented as God's vice-regent on earth, the ὑποστράτηγος of God, an ideal Byzantine ruler; the second part gives a negative account of the last eleven years of his reign, *A.D.* 629-641 (*A.M.* 6121-32). Such a judgement will have been formed in dialectical relation with his sources. The fact that the positive section is so much more detailed (32 pages of de Boor's edition compared with 12) suggests that the primary tradition on which he drew presented a positive view of the reign. Theophanes' retention of this positive judgement seems to lend weight to Beck's suggestion that for chronographers the idea of imperial majesty was just as important as the issue of correct religion, if not more so.

Theophanes' positive judgement of Heraclius in the first section is an integrated picture and it is difficult to separate the elements which make it up. Essentially Heraclius is described in such a way as to conform to the Byzantine picture of the "ideal ruler", itself a composite idea with a long tradition embodying the Christianizing of the Roman Empire. Because of the nature of the ideal which defines the ruler as perfect because of his relationship with God each individual ruler both conforms to and in turn defines the ideal. There is thus a dialectical relationship between the particular ruler and the ideal, which was the theoretical sanction for each individual ruler's power.

Heraclius' qualities as a ruler are indicated by a number of mythical elements in Theophanes' account. The first is the story of his accession where Theophanes tells of a competition between Nicetas and Heraclius in which the first of the two to reach Constantinople from Africa was to claim the throne.¹² The silence in the contemporary record of John of Nikiu¹³ suggests that the competition story, which also appears in Nicephorus,¹⁴ was probably mythologizing of a later date. Such a myth has elements of two types of "hero" story — the first shows Heraclius winning the throne in a fair fight, thus already displaying his invincible quality, and the other suggests that he had a divine right to the throne and was therefore destined to win it.

Once Heraclius is thus established as the ruler there are various elements in Theophanes' account which show him conforming to the traditional ideal. Because, however, that ideal was fluid and expressed in practical terms, these elements are usually shown by description of his actions, not by theoretical discussion. One useful category which Theophanes can be seen to use in his portrait is the idea of Heraclius embodying some of the Christianized virtues of the Roman emperor.¹⁵ In other specific instances Heraclius can be seen as acting in accordance with the model of a particular ideal ruler, the first Christian emperor, Constantine. The virtues which Heraclius is shown to act out can be related to the Roman imperial ideals of providence, invincibility and philanthropy,¹⁶ elaborated in the Christian theological framework within which the Byzantine empire functioned.

From the moment when Heraclius defeats Phocas by the grace of Christ,¹⁷ he is portrayed as being solely responsible for all the affairs of state. As a virtue this sole responsibility can be related to the ideal of the "providence" of the emperor. As

well as making Heraclius personally responsible for every military decision in the field, this providence also makes him personally responsible for the collection and organization of his army, which he found scattered and disorganized. This illustrates the aspect of providence mentioned by Philo in his panegyric on Augustus — the ability to put order into chaos.¹⁸ He takes personal charge of the training of his men,¹⁹ and if they suffer any setback it is because they have disobeyed the emperor, who is able, through his providence, to foresee any danger.²⁰

The obverse side of sole responsibility, which when seen as a virtue is providence, is also elaborated in the tradition. This, I would suggest, is the framework in which the “schizophrenic” view of the emperor finds its meaning. As Tinnfeld observes,²¹ Byzantine historians always see causes in people, not things or movements, so naturally the person who dominates an era will get a lot of criticism. I would suggest that because his responsibility derives from his position as God’s vice-regent, an emperor also receives all the praise when an author judges his period, or parts of it, a success — because it is due to his providence.

From this idea of providence as the positive side of sole responsibility there followed, as early as Augustus, the notion of an emperor’s invincibility both as the leader of an army and as an individual combatant. This theme is elaborated by Theophanes within a Christian theological framework. Every victory is attributed to Heraclius and God or the Mother of God.²² This pairing of Heraclius and the Mother of God featured also in George of Pisidia’s writings on Heraclius. For Theophanes Heraclius had earned this association by arriving in Constantinople with the (victory-bringing?) icons of the Mother of God on his ship’s prow.²³ He stressed this association by referring to George by name, which he does on no other occasion.²⁴ This aspect of the journey is then further underlined by his mention of the gift by Stephen the Metropolitan of Cyzicus of a garland from the Church of the Mother of God.²⁵ His arrival marks a lasting association between the emperor, Constantinople and the Theotokos, who twice during Heraclius’ reign was responsible for the salvation of her city. Baynes described it as the “passionate desire of the Virgin to be reunited with the folk of Constantinople” and referred to an episode in the reign of Leo III when the patriarch took down to the sea the sacred image of the Virgin and launched it towards the West.²⁶ Thus the image of the Virgin was one of the first victims in the Iconoclasm battle and a significant symbol for Theophanes.

Heraclius is only associated with the Mother of God in victory; when he is defeated — according to Theophanes because he abandons his Orthodox faith (a matter I will discuss later) — he is in turn abandoned by his divine protectors. It would seem that for Theophanes the emperor can earn divine protection and victory at his accession by carrying to Constantinople the icon of her protectress, a gesture symbolic to Theophanes of his Orthodox faith, and he can lose it not at the end of his reign but at the end of his period of Orthodoxy. The genius of the emperor is not now located in his person but in his Orthodox belief. It is possibly to emphasize this that Theophanes retains George of Pisidia’s pairing of Heraclius and the Theotokos. For him living in a period of iconoclasm, the relationship had a new meaning.

While under divine protection Heraclius is invincible not only as the leader of his army but as an individual combatant. He fights like a hero leaping out in front of his men.²⁷ Not only does the Persian general praise his prowess but the whole

Persian army prostrate themselves before him when they see him standing in the East as the sun rose²⁸ — his divine protection is obvious to the enemy in their own terms.

“Providence” and invincibility are “virtues” very congruent with the idea of a strong military leader. “Philanthropy” is not, particularly in a description of a military campaign, yet Theophanes chooses to follow George of Pisidia in showing it as one of Heraclius’ characteristics. Heraclius’ power over his men is based more on love than fear,²⁹ he has mercy on his Persian captives³⁰ and he is compelled to burn Persia though it is not his desire,³¹ that is, it is against his philanthropic judgement. Possibly Heraclius’ philanthropy is used to highlight Chosroes’ tyranny, in line with an idea developed by Themistius that this philanthropy is the only attribute which makes a king an imitator of God.³² This virtue usually manifested itself in the area of social welfare within the Empire, not in the battlefield. The display of philanthropy shown here towards enemies of the Empire might be linked with the idea that the real enemy of Byzantium is Chosroes rather than the Persian people.

In addition to the use of positive ideals Theophanes has to some extent also used a contrast in his description of Persian leaders to bring out Heraclius’ positive characteristics. Chosroes is the scourge of the world, Heraclius its saviour, Chosroes is sacrilegious, Heraclius is God’s representative on earth, Chosroes is greedy and he and his generals are cowards, while Heraclius is brave.

So through his actions in the military campaigns in Persia Heraclius is shown to embody certain imperial virtues, particularly those of providence, invincibility and philanthropy.

Another fundamental aspect of Byzantine imperial ideology was that the emperor should be seen to follow certain previous ideal rulers, but especially the Emperor Constantine. That Heraclius himself acted out this ideal as the new Constantine was discussed by Alexander,³³ who pointed out that the key parallel with Constantine was his association with the True Cross. As Constantine had found the True Cross and built the Holy Sepulchre in which to house it, so Heraclius re-invented the Cross, and brought it back to Jerusalem and its shrine.³⁴ It is this point that Theophanes chooses as central in his account of Heraclius’ reign. The contemporary source Antiochus Strategos³⁵ suggests a possible motive for Heraclius’ desire to stress his piety by restoring the Cross to Jerusalem and his suggestion has been elaborated by Frolow into an explanation. Heraclius not only wanted to appease the Eastern bishops by showing that God had forgiven his marriage to Martina by allowing her to accompany him in his restitution of the Cross, but he was also keen to win the support of the Eastern bishops in his negotiations of a religious compromise in the form of Monotheletism.³⁶ Theophanes’ view of this compromise will be discussed later, but here I only wish to point out that the way in which he describes the restoration of the Cross makes it clear that far from being the beginnings of Monotheletism it is for him the final triumph of Orthodoxy.

The extraordinary shape of Theophanes’ story of the Cross and the difficulties in his account and dating of the events have often been noted and partially explained.³⁷ For the year 627 Theophanes gives an account of the end of the Persian war and says that Siroes “released all the captives, including the patriarch Zacharias and the revered and life-giving wood”.³⁸ He is followed in this antedating of the release of the Cross by later historians. But the Cross is not in

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fact mentioned in contemporary or near contemporary sources till two years later. Theophanes in antedating its mention is thus one of the first of many writers to see elements of a crusade in the Persian war, that is, the return of the Cross is seen as an essential part in the conclusion of the war.

In the year 628 the Cross is not mentioned in Theophanes' account and the whole year is devoted to a description of the triumph of Heraclius at Constantinople. Pertusi³⁹ agreed with Baynes' opinion⁴⁰ that the obvious hiatus in Theophanes' story is caused by his use of two conflicting sources — A, an Eastern source which correctly dated the restoration of the Cross to Jerusalem to *A.D.* 629 and B, a Western source which gave a full account of the triumph in Constantinople in *A.D.* 628. Theophanes is said to have used B to fill a chronological gap left by his antedating the return of the Cross and peace with Siroes to 627 and his recognition of 629 as the date for the restoration of the Cross to Jerusalem. While this hiatus may exist because of conflicting sources I would suggest that it suits Theophanes' overall purpose very well. He gives an account of the end of the Persian wars seen partly as a crusade and thus includes the return of the Cross as a salient feature. This victory is celebrated by the triumph in Constantinople. Next he shows the triumph of Orthodoxy in the East, where the Cross is again restored to its rightful place. In 629 Orthodoxy overcomes both Jews and the Monophysites under the sign of the Cross. Not only does Heraclius convert the Jew Benjamin, but he uses the restoration of the patriarch Zacharias and the Cross to expel other Jews from Jerusalem and to restore the Church of Edessa to the Orthodox,⁴¹ thus further emphasizing the parallel of his actions with Constantine, who rebuilt pagan temples as Christian churches.⁴²

Theophanes' interpretation of these actions as part of the final triumph of Orthodoxy only becomes clear in the context of Heraclius' heretical turn, which occurs in the next year. As well as his restoration of the True Cross and the true faith there are other parallels in Theophanes which lead one to see Constantine as a model for Heraclius. Both are seen as having saved the Empire from tyranny⁴³ and the natural disasters it brings with it.⁴⁴ The Empire has sunk to great depths and in both cases it is the good government restored by the new emperor which sets the natural world back on course. The warm reception each was given by their subjects is described in similar terms.⁴⁵ But as in the case of the virtues of Heraclius described for the earlier part of his reign, the parallels with Constantine cease at the heretical turning point. Indeed one may be intended to note the contrast. Constantine when confronted by the possibility of Arian heresy reacted in a different way and was able to see the "true faith" through till the end of his reign and so remain perfect. It is Heraclius' religious error which is the key to the disastrous political events of his final years. There is no gradual progression towards heresy for the whole history of Monotheletism is telescoped into one year, *A.M.* 6121 (*A.D.* 622/3). This and the following year, *A.M.* 6122 (*A.D.* 623/4), which presents a counter picture of the story of Mohammed's rise, are the only times Theophanes steps out of his chronological framework in his account of Heraclius' reign.

This telescoping of events into a single pivotal error around which the fortunes of Byzantium in Heraclius' reign revolve explains all four points of chronology which Stratos discusses in relation to the meeting of Athanasios and Heraclius at Hieropolis and its consequences.⁴⁶

Stratos' first point is that "Theophanes makes Heraclius out to have been

perplexed by Athanasios' question (i.e. whether there were two or one energy, force and will in Christ) when we know that he had been conferring with Sergius about this question from 615". There is probably more than just telescoping of events involved in this. Until this point in Theophanes' narrative Heraclius has been the champion of the Orthodox God — the previous year had been crowned by two events celebrating this, namely, his replacement of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem and his return of the Church of Edessa from the Nestorians to Orthodox control. Theophanes was not prepared to introduce any element of heresy while the fortunes of Byzantium were still high, straight after the Persian defeat, and at the point at which Heraclius committed his final act of piety — the restoration of the Cross. Rather than concede that the heresy had been going on since 615 Theophanes casts Athanasios, "the patriarch of the Jacobites, a cunningly wicked man endowed with the villainy natural in a Syrian",⁴⁷ as the tempter of Heraclius who was innocently "deceived by these strange expressions"⁴⁸ — that is, the question of the wills and the energies.

That this tempting by Athanasios is more symbolic than historical is also borne out by Stratos' second objection, that "at this stage it was only the 'acting force' that was discussed, that the question of one will, i.e. Monothelism did not emerge till after 634". Theophanes wants the whole heresy championed by the two wicked Syrians, Athanasios and Sergius, to emerge fully fledged at this point in his narrative.⁴⁹ That the blame for the origin of the heresy is so strongly placed with Syrians is probably, as Grumel says,⁵⁰ because in the ninth century the heresy of Monothelism survived only in Syria, and Theophanes wanted to lessen the responsibility of the Orthodox Byzantine hierarchy — in this case represented by the emperor.

Stratos' final two points also fit in with the idea of telescoping events to make the issues clear cut. "Heraclius is said to have summoned Cyrus who agreed with Sergius, but Cyrus had agreed since 626", and "Heraclius wrote to Pope John, but this pope was elected in December 640, just before Heraclius' death and nine years after the death of Athanasios".⁵¹ This final point is brought in early to confirm that the Church of Rome was not behind the heresy at any stage.

Not only does Theophanes make the adoption of the Monothelite heresy a turning point in the fortunes of Byzantium in Heraclius' reign but in this one chapter he traces its history for generations and the final shape of the heresy. "This was the situation of the church, disturbed by emperors and impious priests, when Amalec the destroyer rose up and struck us, the people of Christ, and thus became the first terrifying wrecker of the Roman army...."⁵² Thus Heraclius' heresy was indirectly responsible for the destructive attacks on Byzantium by the Arabs — a theme which is taken up in the next year when the history of the menace is examined from the other side. From the time of Heraclius' heretical turn Theophanes' judgement of him changes, and the implication of the terms in which Theophanes elaborates the two opposing judgements is that Heraclius' heretical turn from God turned God against the Empire, leading to its ruin.

Heraclius retreats to Constantinople and leaves the army under the control of others, but they are no longer the centre of the narrative. The chief actors are now the Arabs, and they take all the initiatives; Heraclius is not favourably mentioned again, though as suggested above he is still held personally responsible for the fate of the Empire. In 632 there is a preliminary skirmish in the war with the Arabs in which the vicar Theodorus cleverly defeats the local Arabs.⁵³ The same year r

records that a eunuch of the emperor haughtily refuses to give largesses to the Arabs. In this context, and given the place refusal of tribute seems to play in the subsequent Arab victories, this can be interpreted as a final act of 'hubris' before the Arab revenge, because in the next year there is "an earthquake and a sign in the form of a meteor predicting the victorious rule of the Arabs".⁵⁴ Thus signs from heaven which in every previous case have favoured the Romans,⁵⁵ now favour the Arabs. The Romans, and their emperor, have lost God's support.

Furthermore Heraclius is shown to be responsible either directly or indirectly for most of the Arabs' major victories. For example, it is Heraclius, not the Romans, who abandoned Syria.⁵⁶ He is responsible for the defeat of Egypt because he recalls Cyrus, who had kept peace by paying tribute to the Saracens.⁵⁷ In *A.D.* 635/6 (*A.M.* 6127) Jerusalem is lost.⁵⁸ Its main defender was the Patriarch Sophronius "who had fought against the wrong teaching of Heraclius and his fellow Monothelites", and he dies. Heraclius is thus held partly responsible, though indirectly, for the loss of Jerusalem by having been a religious adversary of Sophronius. In 636 a Roman, in this case John called Cataias, again tries to keep the Arabs back on the other side of the Euphrates by bribing Iad, the Arab leader, but again Heraclius makes a wrong decision and exiles him,⁵⁹ so in 638 Iad crosses the Euphrates and takes Edessa.⁶⁰ As a consequence of Heraclius' action, the exiling of John, the Romans lose Mesopotamia.

Thus by abandoning God and being abandoned by him Heraclius loses the Empire to the Arabs. His death receives less of Theophanes' attention than that of Sophronius. In 641 it is noted: "This year Heraclius died of dropsy", an ignoble end for the illustrious vice-regent of God.⁶¹

Theophanes was faced with a seventh-century source (or sources) effusive in their praise of Heraclius' military victory over Persia and his special relationship with God. Theophanes agrees with this judgement of the early years of Heraclius' reign and so relies heavily on these sources in his account. But by his time the overall outcome of Heraclius' reign could be seen to have been anything but positive. Theophanes does not try to give what we would consider an integrated picture of Heraclius' reign as a whole or look in the earlier years of Heraclius' reign for causes of the subsequent Byzantine defeats as a modern historian might in analysing ongoing historical movements. Instead of amalgamating the strong tradition favourable to Heraclius with later unfavourable sources or with the historical reality of the final results of Heraclius' reign as he saw it, he set up a dichotomy. He related the military defeats still significant for his period to a religious factor. His account is influenced by his definition of Byzantine imperial ideology, showing that his judgement of an emperor is fundamentally tied to the idea of an emperor being a defender of the Orthodox faith. The religious and military spheres are inseparable categories for him and what for us is a schizophrenic portrait of the reign is a result.

In outlining what I see to have been Theophanes' judgement of Heraclius I have pointed out only a few of the cases in which historical problems, e.g. confused dates, can be rationalized if not explained by assuming some viewpoint for the chronographer. Although I have taken the author's implied intentions and regarded them, for the purpose of the argument, as overt statements of purpose, I would suggest that this is one way in which Theophanes' work and that of other chronographers can usefully be examined. Attempts to elucidate possible directions of meaning in the finished work serve as a necessary counterbalance to

research into the sources of a work and in turn can be used to inform further research into the sources.

Footnotes

1. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Munich, 2nd ed. 1897), 219-21, building on the detailed study of H. Gelzer, *Sextus Iulius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie* (Leipzig, 1880-98). Krumbacher's work is now substantially revised and the bibliography brought up to date by H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978).
2. H.-G. Beck, "Zur byzantinischen (Monchschronik)", *Speculum Historiale* (Freiburg - Munich, 1965), 188-97.
3. *Ibid.*, 192.
4. *Ibid.*, 194.
5. *Ibid.*, 195.
6. *Ibid.*, 194.
7. *Ibid.*, 195. In the case of Theophanes' treatment of the reign of Irene he suggests that even Irene's "good religion" could not make up for her "bad politics".
8. A. S. Proudfoot, "The Sources of Theophanes for the Heracleian Dynasty", *Byzantion*, 44 (1974), 367-439, especially 367.
9. *Ibid.*, 367.
10. *Ibid.*, 368.
11. F. H. Tinnefeld, *Kategorien der Kaiserkritik in der byzantinischen Historiographie* (Munich, 1971).
12. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883; hereafter, Theophanes), *A.M.* 6101 (297.6-10).
13. *Chronique de Jean évêque de Nikiu*, ed. and trans. W. H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1883), 167-77.
- There is no suggestion here that the throne was ever intended for Nicetas; he was merely to help Heraclius acquire it.
14. Nicephorus, Patriarch, *Opuscula historica*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880), 3.
15. For one discussion of these virtues: M. P. Charlesworth, "The Virtues of a Roman Emperor", *ProcBritAc*, 23 (1937), 112 ff.
16. See note 15 and D. J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1968).
17. Theophanes, *A.M.* 6102 (299.7).
18. Charlesworth, *op. cit.*, 119.
19. Theophanes, *A.M.* 6113 (303.11f.).
20. E.g. *ibid.*, *A.M.* 6116 (313.22 ff.).
21. Tinnefeld, *op. cit.*, 190.
22. Theophanes, *A.M.* 6113 (306.2 ff.): "These Romans then stretched out their hands and praying gave thanks to God and their emperor who had led them so well"; *A.M.* 6114 (308.19-20): "But he (i.e. Heraclius) by the Grace of God, carried off victory in every one"; *A.M.* 6115 (310.11 ff.): "But Heraclius...struck at them in battle — and with the help of God he turned the barbarians back and pursued them through the mountain passes slaughtering a large number"; *A.M.* 6118 (318.17-19): "The emperor leapt out in front of all the others and faced the leader of the Persians, and through the power of

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God and the help of the Mother of God, he killed him". Once Heraclius was victorious through the agency of his brother (*A.M.* 6117 [315.18-19]): "But God was helping Theodorus because of the intercessions of the Mother of God, worthy of all praise...." The Romans routed the Persians and killed a large number of them. Heraclius explained the desertion of the Turkish allies (*A.M.* 6118 [317.17 ff.]): "Brothers, you must realize why no-one wishes to fight as our allies except God alone and the Mother of God who bore Him without seed. It is so He might show His power since our salvation lies not in a large number of men or weapons but He sends help to those who put hope in His Mercy".

23. Theophanes, (*A.M.* 6102 (298.15-19)).

24. George of Pisidia, *Heraclias*, II, 14 f., in *Poemi*, 1. *Panegyrici epici*, ed. A. Pertusi, StPB 7 (Ettal, 1959), 252.

25. Theophanes, *A.M.* 6102 (299.3 ff.).

26. N. H. Baynes, "The Divine Protectors of Constantinople", in *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (Westport, Conn., 1955), 256.

27. Theophanes, *A.M.* 6113 (305.11 ff.) and 6118 (318.18).

28. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 6113 (305.22-5).

29. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 6113 (303.23-4).

30. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 6114 (308.22-3).

31. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 6118 (324.17-18).

32. Constantelos, *op. cit.*, 45.

33. S. S. Alexander, "Heraclius, Byzantine Imperial Ideology and the David Plates", *Speculum*, 52 (1977), 225-6.

34. *Ibid.*, 225; Theophanes, *A.M.* 5817 (25f.) and 6120 (328.24-5).

35. Antiochus Strategos, *Account of the Sack of Jerusalem in 614*, trans. F. C. Conybeare, *EHR*, 25 (1910) 502-17.

36. A. Frolow, "La Vraie Croix et les expéditions de'Héraclius en Perse", *REB*, 11 (1953), 101-5.

37. E.g. N. H. Baynes, "The Restoration of the Cross at Jerusalem", *EHR*, 27 (1912), 294; A. N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, trans. M. Ogilvie Grant and H. T. Hionides, I, (Amsterdam, 1968), 384. George of Pisidia, ed. Pertusi. *op. cit.*, 231.

38. Theophanes, *A.M.* 6118 (327.13-16).

39. George of Pisidia, ed. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, 232.

40. Baynes, "The Restoration of the Cross at Jerusalem", 294.

41. Theophanes, *A.M.* 6120 (328.26).

42. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 5810 (16.15-16).

43. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 5793 (9.24-25) and 5806 (15.10).

44. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 5797 (13.15 ff.): "Wars and revolts, famine and plague and incessant drought fell upon them so that the living men were insufficient to bury the dead. And thunderbolts and demons were sent forth so that each person thought only about himself and the ordinances remained in abeyance"; *A.M.* 6101 (297.11-12): the sea freezes; *A.M.* 6100 (296.5 ff.): "At this time there were many deaths and dark deeds of every form....The Romans were subjugated by the Persians outside the city while Phocas kept on doing evil things to them by killing them or making them prisoners"; *A.M.* 6101 (297.7): Phocas' reign referred to as tyranny.

45. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 5802 (14.11 ff.): "They (i.e. the citizens) garlanded the city and received him (i.e. Constantine) with joy"; *A.M.* 6102 (299.3 ff.): Heraclius is greeted with garlands at Cyzicus.
46. Stratos, *op. cit.*, I, 294.
47. Theophanes, *A.M.* 6121 (329.22-3).
48. *Ibid.*, line 29.
49. *Ibid.*, 330.1-2: "For seeing Sergius was a Syrian and had Jacobite parents he agreed that the Will was of a single nature as was the energy force".
50. V. Grumel, "Recherches sur l'histoire du Monothelisme", *EO*, 27 (1928), 28 (1929) and 29 (1930) cited by Stratos, *op. cit.*, I, 294.
51. Stratos, *op. cit.*, I, 294.
52. Theophanes, *A.M.* 6121 (332.8 ff.)
53. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 6123 (335.14 ff.).
54. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 6124 (336.14 ff.).
55. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 6114 (307.22-3): "...the air became thick with dew and the Romans built up hope" and defeated Chosroes in the next encounter. In *A.M.* 6117 (315.20-1) it rained on the Persians, but not on the Romans and therefore the Romans won the battle. In *A.M.* 6113 (305.2-5) the eclipse of the moon favoured the Romans.
56. Theophanes, *A.M.* 6125 (337.8-9).
57. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 6126 (338.12 ff.).
58. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 6127 (339.15-16).
59. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 6128 (340.1-10).
60. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 6130 (340.20-1).
61. *Ibid.*, *A.M.* 6132 (341.11-12).

Byzantium and the Arabs:

The Image of the Byzantines as Mirrored in Arabic Literature

Ahmad M.H. Shboul

I

Arab-Byzantine relations have long attracted the interest of scholars. Among these the names of Vasiliev, Grégoire, Honigmann, Canard and Shahîd especially stand out. It is true that military exploits and ransoming of prisoners were the main preoccupation of both Arabs and Byzantines, if we are to judge by the works of Arabic and Greek chroniclers. But it was impossible for two neighbouring societies to deal with each other for several hundred years only on the battlefield, or simply through raids and subsequent truces, even if these two societies remained almost by definition hostile to one another. Modern scholars have long recognised this fact and cultural contacts, influences, cross-fertilizations and parallels have been pointed out as possible lines of research. This has been suggested in the fields of commerce, administration, art and architecture, as well as in the intellectual and religious spheres. Thus it is possible to talk of peaceable and informal contacts between Arabs and Byzantines as has been admirably brought out by Professor Marius Canard.¹ It is also possible to speak of cultural debts between the Christian Roman Empire of the East and the world of Islam;² or indeed of the "creative aspects of Byzantine-Islamic relations" as Professor Paul Lemerle has put it.³

For the study of any aspect of Byzantine-Islamic relations Arabic sources have considerable material to offer, far more than appears to be found in Byzantine sources.⁴ Since literary sources reflect the intellectual outlook of their authors and the cultural milieu and mood of their times, it has seemed to me important to attempt an investigation of the views and attitudes of the Arabs towards the Byzantines as reflected in Arabic literature and within the context of Arab-Byzantine relations. The study of the reflection of one society in the literary mirror of another society is by no means unfamiliar in modern historiography. The works of Richard Southern and Norman Daniel on the image of Islam in the literature of Medieval Europe are well known examples of this genre.⁵ Among Byzantinists, an essay by John Meyendorff and two volumes by Adel Theodore Khoury, deal with Byzantine views of Islam as a religion and are almost entirely based on the writings of Byzantine theologians.⁶ V. Christides has recently given us some idea of Byzantine perceptions of pre-Islamic Arabs, including glimpses of Arabs portrayed in Byzantine painting.⁷

II

The present paper attempts to sketch the main outlines of the Byzantines' image as reflected in Arabic literature. It is mainly confined to the period between the sixth century *A.D.* (i.e., the century that preceded the rise of Islam) and the late eleventh century *A.D.* when the rise of the Seljuq Turks in the East meant that the

Arabs were no longer the principle bearers of the banner of Islam, and when the ascendancy of the Normans in Europe and the intrusion of the Western Crusaders in the East, deprived Byzantium of her role as the chief adversary of Islam in the eastern and central Mediterranean. As will be seen, however, it is necessary occasionally to pursue certain lines of investigation beyond these chronological limits. In order for this picture to be meaningful it should be set against the cultural and intellectual background of both Byzantium and Islam; and within the framework of the thought-world of the Arabs before and after the rise of Islam. One has also to bear in mind the nature, development and preoccupations of Arabic literature itself during this period.

For a broad view of this aspect of Arab-Byzantine relations there is a wide range of Arabic sources. These include pre-Islamic poetry, the Qur'ān, the Traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad, Qur'ānic exegesis, works of jurisprudence, biographical literature, historical annals and other types of historiography, geographical works, literary essays and anthologies, collections of Islamic Arabic poetry, works of fiction and popular tales, and also certain collections of Friday sermons particularly those delivered in the mosques of the frontier cities. No claim is made here for exhausting all possible material.

Two further points need to be made at this stage. The first concerns the nature of the sources, particularly the pre-Islamic poetry of the Arabs and the *Hadīth* literature, i.e. the sayings attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad. The question of authenticity needs to be kept in mind when dealing with these two types of source material. The second point concerns the names given to the Byzantines. The usual name applied to the Byzantines in Arabic sources is *Rūm*, though there are also other appellations and nicknames. In certain categories of later Arabic sources, particularly later poetry, but also later histories, it is not always clear whether the *Rūm* in question are the Byzantines or some others. In some cases it is evident from the context that the word *Rūm* refers simply to the Orthodox Christian communities in the Islamic world. Sometimes it is applied wrongly to the Crusaders in the East, or even to the Christians of Spain. It was even used later to describe the Seljuqs, the Ottoman Turks or anybody coming from Anatolia.⁸ Apart from these later usages, the name *Rūm* is applied in Arabic sources, as a rule, to the Byzantines alone. The appellation *Banū-al-Aṣfar* was used when talking of the Byzantines in the abstract or in a more emotive way, especially in poetry both pre-Islamic and Islamic. It occurs in *Hadīth* literature, in works of history, and in such prose works as the celebrated *Maqāmāt* of al-Harīrī (eleventh century A.D.) known for his particular style, rich in imagery and rhyming prose, where the name *Banū-al-Aṣfar* affords some interesting puns.⁹

III

Our survey will begin with a consideration of how Byzantine-Arab contacts and Arab views of Byzantium before Islam are reflected in what has survived of the pre-Islamic literary tradition of the Arabs. What is known of Arabic literary tradition before Islam was originally handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth, mostly, though not entirely, in the form of poetry. This was eventually edited and committed to writing in Islamic times, mainly during the second and third centuries of the Islamic era (the eighth and ninth Christian centuries). It has long been recognised that the work of some editors and

anthologists was not always free from false attribution or even sheer fabrication. And the Arabs' taste for rhyming verse made things easier for early inventive compilers, though more difficult for later critical scholars. Such inventions have led some modern writers to cast doubt on a large amount of what is termed the pre-Islamic poetry of the Arabs. The controversy is perhaps not yet over, but there seems to be sufficient internal evidence to support the authenticity of the best part of such poetry, including the famous Seven Odes.¹⁰ Some other verses can easily be dismissed as later inventions. It is, for example, safe to reject those verses and traditions connected with the legendary history of Southern Arabia, in which the emperor of the *Rūm* and other kings of several nations are depicted as vassals of the ancient Arabian kings of Yemen.¹¹ These verses and traditions were mostly the product of later tribal propaganda, a fact that was realised by certain Muslim scholars.¹²

For the rest, the image of the Byzantines in pre-Islamic poetry is a more realistic one. Byzantine hegemony over several Arab tribes in Syria,¹³ and the constant trade relations between Arabia and Byzantium, provided many Arabs with considerable knowledge of Byzantine society and way of life. Damascus, Gaza, and Antioch not only numbered many Syrian Arabs among their inhabitants, but were also frequented by traders from the Hijāz, Najd and other parts of the Arabian peninsula. Some Arabs even ventured as far as Constantinople itself. Glimpses of this are reflected in Arabic poetry and other literary traditions of Arabia in the sixth and early seventh centuries.

In this pre-Islamic literary tradition it is possible to speak of several characteristics of the Byzantines as seen through Arab eyes. There is first of all the image of Byzantium as a great power, and of its emperor (*Qaysar*) as an overlord of Arab princes in Syria. His greatness is only matched by that of Chosroes (*Kisrā*) of Sāsānid Persia. The great and noble kings of *Bantu-al-Aṣfar* become symbols of prestige and worldly might especially in the verses of poets known to have been familiar with manifestations of Byzantine power through their geographical position, travel, and experience, for example, Imru'-'l-Qays, 'Adī b. Zayd, and al-A'shā.¹⁴ This is reflected particularly in the poetry of the semi-legendary Imru'-'l-Qays, the most famous poet of pre-Islamic Arabia. As a descendant of the royal family of Hujr, Ākil al-Murār of the tribe of Kinda, Imru'-'l-Qays, after reportedly leading a somewhat bohemian existence, was faced with the misfortune of having to seek revenge for his royal father, who was murdered by men of another tribe, and to try in vain to regain his lost crown.¹⁵ It is in this context that he is depicted on a journey to Constantinople seeking help from the Byzantine emperor, Justinian I. In his poetry Imru'-'l-Qays speaks of his plan in terms which indicate the Arabs' view of Byzantine military strength: "I will conquer you with the help of the Byzantines" he threatens his opponents.¹⁶ In the verses of other poets the image of the Byzantines as a powerful kingdom becomes somewhat more stereotyped.

Then there is the image of Byzantium as a civilized kingdom, possessing great wealth and producing high quality goods, and capable of great achievements in architecture and the crafts. A cultural achievement which is still closely related to the picture of Byzantium as a great power is the Byzantine gold and silver coinage. The high esteem for Byzantine coins was not due simply to the Arabs' undeniable appreciation of their monetary value, but also to their brilliance and beauty, and the purity of their metal, (the "sterling" quality and value as it were). All this

provided impressive imagery for the Arab poet. For example, small clear pools of water formed by scarce rain in the deserts of Arabia are likened to silver coins.¹⁷ A healthy and comely human face is compared to a Byzantine gold coin (Arabic: *dīnār*): "Their faces are like *dīnārs* struck in the country of Caesar" says an ancient Arabian poet.¹⁸ Another poet likens the face of his healthy son to a gold coin from the reign of Heraclius.¹⁹ The imagery of the *dīnār* of Heraclius, the last Byzantine emperor to retain Syria within his empire, continued to be used by Arab poets and men of letters for a considerable time after Byzantine currency was superseded in the Islamic world by Arab coinage.²⁰

The Arabs' appreciation of Byzantine cultural achievement is reflected particularly in allusions to Byzantine architecture in pre-Islamic poetry. Byzantine bridges and palaces are referred to in perhaps the most flattering terms which a desert Arab could use. Thus a well-built and elegant she-camel is usually compared to a Byzantine bridge or an arch in a Byzantine palace, for example, by Ṭarafa and al-A'shā.²¹ Thus it seems that while the Byzantines thought conventionally of the pre-Islamic Arabs as nomads and tent-dwellers,²² the Arabs saw the Byzantines as palace-dwellers and as architects and builders *par excellence*.²³ It is important to remember that these Arab poets travelled in northern Arabia and Syria during or shortly after Justinian I's reign.

Byzantine textiles and other commodities are also appreciated by pre-Islamic Arabs. There are references to red silk and stuffs from Antioch being worn by Arab desert beauties, as described by poets such as Imru'-l-Qays, al-A'shā and Zuhayr.²⁴ Other poets refer to the accomplishments of girl-singers, including some of Byzantine origin, who sang not only in the palaces of the Ghassānid Arab princes of Syria, but also in those of the Lakhmid Arabs of Iraq and in the cities of the Hijāz.²⁵

Such knowledge of the Byzantines and their wealth and culture was also reflected in pre-Islamic Mecca, the birth-place of the Prophet Muḥammad. The people of Mecca, who were noted for their activity in trade and for their prominent businessmen, do not seem to have had outstanding poets despite their appreciation of poetry. But thanks to the special position which Mecca continued to have in the world of Islam, we do possess many traditions about the history and lore of Mecca before Islam, preserved in Islamic historical and other literary sources. Even allowing for possible later embellishments by the fanciful imagination of later generations, it is possible to find in such traditions evidence of cultural contacts, through trade and diplomacy, between Byzantium and Mecca. Muḥammad's great-grandfather, Hāshim, is said to have negotiated terms for regular Meccan trade with the Byzantine emperor. Indeed he is believed to have died on one of his business trips to Byzantine Syria and to have been buried in Gaza.²⁶ Another Meccan dignitary, 'Uthmān b. al-Huwayrith, also apparently met the Byzantine emperor in person in an attempt to arrange closer trade links, and perhaps even political ties, between Constantinople and Mecca.²⁷

Byzantine contacts with Mecca were not limited to the journeys and experience of Meccan traders in Byzantine Syria, where Muḥammad himself was to journey in his youth. Nor was Byzantine cultural influence on Mecca confined to the availability in its markets of Byzantine commodities, including Byzantine silk and male and female slaves. Byzantine architecture seems to have had its share of influence on the buildings of Mecca, especially on the most venerated temple of the pre-Islamic Arabs, namely the Ka'ba. For we are told by later Muslim

historians of Mecca that when, in the late sixth century, the Ka'ba was rebuilt, not only was the timber from a wrecked Byzantine ship used by the Meccans, but a Byzantine or Syrian builder and carpenter was employed to supervise and carry out the reconstruction and decoration of the Ka'ba.²⁸ In fact Byzantine artistic traditions may have been reflected in the painting of human images that reportedly used to adorn the walls of the Ka'ba before Islam.²⁹

IV

When we come to the early decades of the seventh century we need to focus even more on Mecca. For it was here, in the year *A. D.* 610, that Muḥammad's message as the Prophet of Islam was first preached. The pagan merchants of Mecca still carried on their trade with Byzantine Syria. There were in Mecca at that time a few people, slaves or freedmen, of Byzantine origin or with Byzantine connections. One of them later became a prominent Companion of Muḥammad. This was Suhayb al-Rūmī, who not only retained a name which meant the blond or the red-haired Byzantine, but also spoke Arabic with a "Byzantine-Greek accent".³⁰ One can easily infer from such evidence that to live in Mecca in the late sixth and early seventh centuries could involve some acquaintance not only with Byzantine Syria and its products, but also with individuals of Byzantine background. This is significant, for it illustrates Byzantine-Meccan contacts and possible Byzantine influences on Mecca before Islam. It also gives us an idea of the Meccans' knowledge of Byzantium as a power and as a civilization at the time of Muḥammad's mission.

The same period which witnessed the beginning of Muḥammad's mission also saw the last bitter struggle between the two great powers in the Near East, the Romans and the Persians, a struggle which has been described as "the last world-war of antiquity",³¹ and which is echoed in the earliest Muslim literary document, namely the Qur'ān itself. During the early Meccan years of the nascent Muslim community Muḥammad and his small band of followers had a sympathetic view of the Christian Roman Empire of Constantinople. One of the early chapters (*sūras*) of the Qur'ān begins with a direct reference to the Byzantines, and the whole chapter was therefore subsequently entitled *al-Rūm*. The opening verses of this chapter not only illustrate the awareness among the people of Mecca, both Muslims and pagans, of the struggle between Byzantium and Sāsānid Persia, but also reflect the sympathy and the feeling of spiritual affinity which early Muslims had towards the Christian Byzantines. The relevant verses read: "The Byzantines (*al-Rūm*) have been defeated in the neighbouring land, [but] after their defeat they will triumph in a few years' time".³² Then the verses describe the feeling of the Muslim believers at the time of this predicted, one can almost say promised, victory of the Byzantines: "The Believers shall then rejoice at God's support; God helps whomsoever he will".³³ This is not a simple reference to a contemporary event or a mere prophecy. In these verses one can sense a consoling tone. It is also significant that it is the Byzantines and not the Persians who are the centre of attention. The latter of the verses just quoted clearly identify the Muslims with the Byzantine cause, for they will rejoice at their victory.

In fact public opinion in Mecca, where the Muslims were still a persecuted minority, seems to have been sharply divided into two camps *vis-à-vis* the Byzantine-Persian struggle. The division was along religious lines: the pagans

sympathising with the Persians, and the small group of Muslims championing the cause of the Christian Byzantines. One of the closest Companions of Muḥammad, namely Abū Bakr, the future first caliph, went as far as laying a wager on the matter with some pagans who were jubilant over the initial Persian victory and anxious to prove Muḥammad wrong. As it turned out Abū Bakr won the bet, having put his stakes on the Byzantines. (This was before the prohibition of gambling was decreed.)³⁴ Between the defeat of the Byzantines under Phocas (605) and the recovery under Heraclius which culminated in the victories of 629-630, Muḥammad's own position had improved greatly. From a spiritual leader of a small persecuted minority, he had now become not only a successful religious leader with thousands of followers, but also a successful military commander and head of a new political community with its centre at Medina, his adopted town, and with Mecca itself and most of Arabia as part of his new Commonwealth.³⁵

It is not the place here to deal with the effect on Byzantium and on the world of late antiquity in general, which this unexpected rising power of the Arabs was soon to have. This aspect has long been studied and commented upon from more than one viewpoint. But the attitude to Byzantium of Muḥammad and his followers and early successors must be seen within the context of the changing fortunes of the early Muslim community, and the Islamic-Byzantine relations as they now evolved.

In the early years Muḥammad and his followers were still engaged in a bitter armed struggle against the pagans of Mecca, and a considerable number of Qur'ānic revelations in this critical period dealt with this struggle. But as the number of Muḥammad's followers increased and his position became stronger in Arabia, a wider perspective for the future began to emerge. In later Qur'ānic verses revealed at Medina, Muslims are told to expect other adversaries, described as "formidable". Later Muslim exegetes, citing traditions which they linked with the Prophet's times, found in this description an allusion to the Byzantines, among others.³⁶ Whether or not the Byzantines are meant here, it is evident that Muḥammad and his followers had now come to view the Byzantines not only as a formidable military power, but also as a power with whom they would sooner or later come into conflict.

This development in the Muslim attitude towards Byzantium is reflected in the *Hadīth* literature. The difficulty about this type of tradition lies not only in the possibility of distortion in the process of transmission but also, as serious Muslim scholars soon began to realise with alarm, the more dangerous probability of sheer invention of traditions for political or partisan ends, or simply for moralising purposes. In dealing with such literature caution is therefore called for. Traditions that are relevant to the present investigation, even if not all necessarily authentic, seem on the whole to reflect the mood of the times in the Muslim camp. Some of them, however, and as will be noted later, betray the thinking of later generations. Although further research in the massive *Hadīth* collections is still needed for our purpose, it is possible to outline the general picture emerging from some of this material, and particularly from the many traditions relating to the conquest of Syria in the *History of Damascus* by Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571/1176) who was himself a prominent scholar of *Hadīth*, and whose work has yielded substantial data for the purpose of this paper.

An important theme in the *Hadīth* literature is that of the Byzantines as a symbol of military and political power and as a society of great abundance. This is

a continuation of the pre-Islamic image of Byzantium, and is only natural in those early and transitional days of the Islamic community. This was usually contrasted with the conditions of the simple and poverty-stricken Muslim community in its early years.³⁷ An interesting corollary of this theme in the *Hadīth* (also encountered in other types of later writings) is the way in which early Muslims saw themselves being viewed by the powerful and wealthy Empire of Constantinople. Muḥammad is often reminded by some of his companions of the might of the Byzantines, which he admits. On more than one occasion, however, he assures his followers of the futility of Byzantine power.³⁸

Other traditions attributed to the Prophet, in which there is some allusion to the Byzantines and the future Muslim conquest of Syria, may in part have been invented later and projected back in time. Such traditions promise Muḥammad's followers the conquest of Syria and the treasures of the Byzantines and the Persians. "I have been given the keys of Syria", he is quoted as saying, as well as those of "Persia and Yemen".³⁹ On other occasions, Muḥammad is quoted as giving further and more explicit promises that his followers will eventually inherit the wealth of the Byzantines and the Persians.⁴⁰ Further traditions predict the conquest of Jerusalem by the Muslims, speak of Damascus as a future Muslim stronghold, and of a Muslim-Byzantine truce.⁴¹

But the Prophet's sayings still reflect the Muslim awareness of Byzantine military strength. Some of the Prophet's companions, on hearing him talk of a Muslim conquest of Syria, asked him, "But how can we possibly gain Syria while it has the 'horned Byzantines' well-established in it?"⁴² In other instances Muslims in the times of the Prophet are described as "fearing the Byzantines more than any other adversary; through trading with Syria they could see Byzantine strength for themselves".⁴³

As Muḥammad's position became better consolidated in Arabia he had to come into some political contacts, and even have military encounters, with the Byzantines, usually through their tributary Arab chieftains in southern Syria. The details of Muḥammad's political or military activities in this sphere do not in themselves concern the present study. But it is necessary to note those traditions connected with such activities which bear on the Muslim views of Byzantium at the time. Muḥammad's expedition against Syria known as the Tabūk expedition, which only went as far as Tabūk in present-day Sa'ūdī Arabia is considered by a number of modern scholars as no more than a demonstration of Muḥammad's new status in Arabia, that is, as a military move for political ends, and perhaps also with the hope of securing some material reward in the form of booty.⁴⁴ Most of Muḥammad's followers found this project sorely taxed their means. Some found the whole thing impractical. One half-hearted (or hypocritical) contemporary is quoted as saying, "Does Muhammad think that fighting the *Banū-al-Aṣfar* (i.e., the Byzantines) is child's play? I can imagine his men soon tied up together in ropes".⁴⁵ But this expedition, together with the sending of a small Muslim army as far as Mu'ta (in present-day southern Jordan), and the preparing of Usāma's army during the last days of the Prophet, all appear to point to development in the early Islamic community's stance *vis-à-vis* the Byzantine Empire.⁴⁶

On the diplomatic level, mention must be made of Muḥammad's letters to the kings and princes of neighbouring countries, including the Byzantine emperor,

Heraclius. Muslim sources speak of a friendly reply from Heraclius, who is said to have sent a gift to the Prophet, although this gift apparently never reached its destination, the envoy having been robbed *en route* by some desert Arabs.⁴⁷ The Byzantine "governor" of Egypt also sent gifts including a Copt slave-girl called Māriya whom Muḥammad took as a wife and who bore him a son. Muslim sources also speak of the sympathy and understanding supposedly shown by Heraclius towards Muḥammad and his faith. Even if Heraclius and his gold *dīnārs* appeared so impressive and grand in pre-Islamic poetry, Heraclius himself now comes out in Arabic Islamic sources as a different man. Here he is depicted as a man of unpredictable moods, of a highly spiritual nature, with a great deal of what we would nowadays call superstition. He is worried about the news of the rise of Muḥammad and hastily summons Arab merchants, especially those coming from Mecca, and asks them about the Arabian Prophet. But we are also told that Heraclius in fact recognised the Prophetic mission of Muḥammad; that he foresaw his coming, and now wished he could meet him. Some say that he even wished to have the chance to wash Muḥammad's feet!⁴⁸

Later generations not only attributed to Muḥammad sayings about the future conquest of Syria but also gave an apocalyptic vision of the Byzantines eventually driving the Muslims out of Syria. According to one tradition, the Byzantines would in later days ravage Syria for forty days during which only Damascus and Amman would remain as strongholds of the Muslims.⁴⁹ But such traditions may have been invented by some later pious or fatalist Muslim, in the days when Muslim Syria was actually threatened, and even partly occupied, by the Byzantines, for example, in the late-tenth century; or they may even have been inspired partly by the coming of the Crusaders.

Thus early Muslim views of the Byzantines in the days of Muḥammad seem to have developed from sympathy and affinity, reflected in early verses of the Qur'ān, to awe and apprehension of Byzantium's military power, scorn of Byzantine wealth and luxury, and finally anticipation of open antagonism and prolonged warfare.

V

Historical traditions from the period of the Muslim conquest of Syria reflect a changing image of Byzantium. It is seen at first as a superior power still feared by the Muslims in the early days of the Caliphate. As Arab forces advanced deep into Syria, however, and as direct encounter with the Byzantine forces resulted in Muslim victories, confidence in the Muslim camp increased, and there was yet another, now more drastic, change in the image of the Byzantines in Arab eyes. The extent to which earlier traditions were embellished by later transmitters and writers is difficult to tell. But it is perhaps possible, nevertheless, to capture some of the atmosphere of the conquests and early Arab rule in Syria. Several of the (unofficial) advisers of the first caliph are said to have warned him against sending an army against the Byzantines. Urging him to wait until a suitable number of warriors could be marshalled, one senior Muslim warned Abū Bakr by saying, "It is the *Rūm*, the Banū-al-Aṣfar, an ironside and a strong edifice; I do not see that you should face them directly".⁵⁰

One theme that is evident in certain Arabic sources on the conquest of Syria is that of supposed dialogues between Arab and Byzantine generals or their

delegates. Such dialogues not only reflect what the Arabs thought of the Byzantines, but also show how they thought the Byzantines viewed them. On such occasions the Arabs are impressed with the wealth displayed by the Byzantines: their heavy arms, rich clothes and numerous majestic tents made from silken stuff. In one instance a Muslim delegation refused, on religious grounds, to go into the great tent of a Byzantine general because it was made of silk, and the Byzantines had to come out to see them in a much humbler setting. This, according to Arabic sources, not only puzzled the Byzantine general but caused Heraclius himself to say, on hearing of the incident later: "This is the first sign of our humiliation; now Syria will be lost".⁵¹

If the manifestation of Byzantine military might and wealth impressed the early Muslims, the morale and performance of Byzantine soldiers on the battlefield was soon regarded by the Muslims as very low indeed. Heraclius is said to have discouraged his generals on many occasions from openly fighting the Arabs, and to have recommended that they should be appeased by offers of money or goods.⁵² Byzantine soldiers are depicted as unwilling to fight the Arabs, and as having to be chained together in groups of ten in order to be prevented from fleeing.⁵³ Other traditions speak of the impression left by Arab warriors on the Byzantines. The Byzantine authorities in Syria are shown as bewildered and unable to understand this new and different upsurge of Arab warriors against Syria. Such inability to understand was met by no small degree of sarcastic retort from Arab spokesmen. A Byzantine patrician is said to have once asked to speak to an Arab leader; it was the shrewd 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, one of the famous generals, diplomats and wits of the Arabs, and the future conqueror of Egypt, who was given this role. The Byzantine patrician welcomes 'Amr, reminding him that Arabs and Byzantines are cousins, because their great common ancestor was the Patriarch Abraham. Then the Byzantine asks the Arab: "What brings you here now? I thought that our respective forefathers had already divided the land among themselves and you got your share and we got ours. We realise that it is only difficult conditions that have forced you to come out of your country. We will arrange for some grant for you, then you can go away". The Arab general replies by accepting the idea of a common ancestry of the two nations,⁵⁴ but retorts that the division of land alluded to had been an unfair division, and that the Arabs had now come to put it right. He agrees about difficult conditions in Arabia, adding that the Arabs, having tasted the bread made from Syrian wheat, would never leave until they had subjugated the Byzantines.⁵⁵

On a similar occasion, a Byzantine general meets another Arab leader; this time it is Khālid b. al-Walīd, the hero of the Yarmūk battle. The two meet on horseback and the Byzantine general, after blaming difficult conditions and high prices which must have forced the Arabs out of their country, offers to give "each man of you an amount of ten *dīnārs* and a camel loaded with food, clothes and leather. You may then go back to your families and live for this year; you can ask us for the same next year and we will send it to you". He then points to the great numbers of Byzantine warriors against whom the Arabs could not possibly stand a chance. Khālid is said to have answered this condescending Byzantine in a tone of mockery: "It was not hunger that brought us here, but we Arabs are in the habit of drinking blood, and we are told that the blood of the Byzantines is the sweetest of its kind, so we came to shed your blood and drink it". At this shocking rejoinder, the attendants of the Byzantine chief turn to one another saying: "That is what we

have been told about the Arabs and their drinking of blood".⁵⁶ This story perhaps reflects one aspect of how the Arabs perceived themselves in the mirror of the Byzantines.

But the Byzantines are said before long to have seen the Muslims in a completely different light, and realised the true nature of this new breed of Arabs. The Byzantines, who are depicted as having a keen interest in practical espionage, had various first-hand reports about the behaviour of these Arabs, and about conditions and morale in their camp. What Byzantine spies had to tell the Byzantine officers made them very uneasy indeed. For all reports pictured these desert warriors as "slim men on thoroughbred horses, who spend their nights praying and chanting from their Holy Book as if they were monks, so that if you were to talk to the man next to you he would not hear you because of the sound of their recitals. But during daylight they behave like real warriors preparing and sharpening their arrows and javelins".⁵⁷

The Byzantines are depicted as reacting with alarm and consternation to this image of Muslim warriors. Later on when Syria was won by the Arabs, an old Byzantine patrician is said to have ascribed this to the piety and good discipline of the Muslims which he contrasted to the irresponsibility, wine-drinking and unruly conduct among the Byzantines. Even Heraclius himself is said to have approved of this explanation of his grave turn of fortune.⁵⁸

After the Arab conquest of Syria, Egypt and North Africa, it must have taken the Byzantine authorities some time to adjust to the new status of the Arabs. The Arabs themselves must have needed some time to adapt to their new role, and their responsibility for a large Islamic empire. But the Arabs clearly saw themselves as the inheritors of the Sāsānids in Iraq and Iran, and of the Byzantines in Syria, Egypt and North Africa.

VI

During the Umayyad period (*A.D.* 660-750) which witnessed important developments within the new Arab empire, the Arabs had much to learn not only from the Byzantine legacy in the conquered lands, but also from Constantinople itself. Arabic authors acknowledge this debt in various ways. Reporting traditions about Byzantine material and technical help in the building of some of the early great mosques of the Umayyad period is only one aspect of this.⁵⁹ This period witnessed Byzantine-Arab contacts at several levels. Apart from the two major but unsuccessful attempts by the Arabs to conquer Constantinople (*A.D.* 674-78 and 717-18), there were numerous lesser expeditions and annual raids. But there were also diplomatic, commercial and cultural contacts between the two sides. These are in evidence as early as the days of the first Umayyad caliph and even before. We have references to envoys between Byzantium and the Arabs at the time of 'Umar and 'Uthmān.⁶⁰

From the Arabs' viewpoint it seemed natural to deal with the Byzantines at least on equal terms. Whatever the official view of Constantinople may have been in those early days of Arab ascendancy, Arabic authors tell us that the Byzantines, too, adopted the same view as early as the reign of Mu'āwiya. The Byzantine emperor was said to have considered Mu'āwiya the successor of earlier kings of the East, presumably a reference to the Sāsānids. "Previous kings", he was reported to have written to Mu'āwiya, "used to engage in correspondence with my predecessors and both sides used to test each other's worth".⁶¹

But the basic image of the Byzantines reflected in Arabic literature from the establishment of the Arab Empire onwards, was understandably that of the main antagonist and rival — the enemy *par excellence*. This was, of course, more than reciprocated on the Byzantine side. There was, however, one fundamental difference between Arab attitudes to the Byzantines, and Byzantine attitudes to the Arabs and Islam. Byzantine views of the Muslim Arabs were largely derived from, and dictated by, their abhorrence of the new religion — Islam. The Muslims, on the other hand, not only were familiar with Christianity and with Christians in their own society, but, for obvious historical reasons, they adopted a fairly tolerant attitude towards Christianity itself and towards Christians as such. To the Muslim Arabs the rivalry between them and Byzantium was military, political, religious, cultural, and also economic. The religious dimension was not, however, the most prominent in the image of the Byzantines as mirrored in Arabic literature. The preoccupation of the Arabs with Byzantium as the enemy is more evident in official writings, in the works of historians, geographers, poets and other men of letters, in legal texts and in popular literature and far less evident in religious polemics.⁶²

Traditions about Byzantine and Arab embassies in this and later periods reflect dealings between two equal rivals, each trying to outwit his opponent.⁶³ Later diplomatic exchanges under the 'Abbāsids and Fāṭimids reflect a haughtier and more majestic air in the Muslim courts; although the battle of wits is still alive in letters, and in caliphal and imperial courts, Arabic sources depict the Byzantines as more reconciled now to the idea of equality.⁶⁴

Arabic historians, with one or two important exceptions, depict the Byzantines usually only as the enemy, the Byzantine emperor as the unnamed "king of the *Rūm*", the "tyrant of the *Rūm*" (*ṭāghīya*), or even the "dog (*kalb*) of the *Rūm*". His envoys and soldiers are usually described as "barbarians" (*'ilj*; plural, *a'lāj*).⁶⁵ Muslim rulers are reported to have addressed Byzantine emperors with insulting letters, in which the latter are "ordered" to comply with the wishes of the caliph or emir. This is especially so at times of relatively intensified warfare, for example during the reigns of Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'tasim (Irene, Nicephorus and Theophilus); at the time of the Fāṭimid al-Mu'izz and the Byzantine expedition against Crete; or in the days of Sayf al-Dawla the Ḥamdānid (mid 4th / 10th century, the period of the Macedonian dynasty).⁶⁶ At the official level, however, diplomatic expedience must have called for a more realistic and compromising tone.⁶⁷

Muslim geographers, most of whom were state officials, are generally interested in Byzantium mainly for strategic reasons. In fact most of their information on Byzantium seems to have derived from the archives of the Islamic military intelligence department. Qudāma explicitly warns against the danger of the Byzantines and stresses the need to know how to deal with them in warfare.⁶⁸ Al-Maqqisī, who was not a state official, is more interested in the Muslim quarter in Constantinople "which is adjoining the palace of the 'dog' of the *Rūm*"; and gives advice on how Muslim prisoners of war should conduct themselves.⁶⁹

VII

The preoccupation with the Byzantines as the Arabs' chief enemy is particularly reflected in Arabic poetry of the late seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth centuries.⁷⁰

This poetry is mainly in praise of Muslim caliphs, emirs or generals who waged war against the Byzantines and restored the prestige of Islam. To a certain extent it may be seen as an interesting illustration of Muslim public opinion, with no small amount of the mass-media flavour, especially when one considers the Arabs' appreciation of poetry. Worthy deeds in the *jihād* against the Byzantines are praised and commemorated in poetry. For example, it was stressed that Hārūn al-Rashīd was the first Muslim caliph ever to lead his army in the battlefield against the Byzantines.⁷¹ So was the initiative of Luhay'a, *qādī* of Egypt at the time of al-Ma'mūn, who was the first judge to institute a special fund from the *awqāf* (endowments) towards maintaining regular volunteers (*muṭṭawwi'a*) for defending Egyptian ports against surprise Byzantine naval attacks.⁷²

Lively glimpses of the atmosphere of the war efforts against the Byzantines are particularly reflected in the work of such poets as Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa, al-Khalī' al-Bāhilī, Muslim b. al-Walīd (late eighth and early ninth centuries); and Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī (both ninth century *A.D.*).⁷³ In the tenth century the court of Sayf al-Dawla at Aleppo patronised many celebrated poets, of whom two were outstanding and of special relevance to our survey. The first is Abū Firās, himself a Ḥamdānid prince and warrior, and twice prisoner-of-war in Byzantine hands; the other is al-Mutanabbī, the very proud, indeed arrogant, warrior, and aristocrat of Arabic poets.⁷⁴ As may be expected, the Byzantines do not come out very well in such poetry, for the poets only commemorate Muslim victories and Byzantine defeats.

A less known Arab poet (from the early tenth century *A.D.*) depicts the Byzantines as so frightened of a Muslim general, who led many campaigns into their territory, "that the *Rūm*, even in times of peace, used to quieten their troublesome children by mentioning his name".⁷⁵ It would be misleading however to think that these poets devoted themselves to propaganda warfare against the Byzantines. For on the whole their aim was to praise their patrons. In the case of Abū Firās, most of his so-called "Byzantine" pieces (*Rūmiyyāt*) are more concerned with his own experience as a prisoner-of-war, his yearning for his beloved, and his proud reproaches to Sayf al-Dawla for not ransoming him. For others, including al-Mutanabbī, the Byzantines figure only in a small portion of a massive poetical output.

Nevertheless, the picture of the Byzantines as a real danger looming over Muslim society is reflected by these and other poets, as well as by historians and other prose-writers. This is echoed even in the work of such poets as Abū Nuwās and his like, who are not known to have concerned themselves with war-poetry.⁷⁶ In such cases the reference to the Byzantines is not in the context of a particular event, but in a general way, and the fact that the Byzantines were the arch-enemy was assumed to be accepted by the reader or the listener. Occasionally other adversaries, such as the Khazars, are also alluded to in such a manner, but usually only second to the Byzantines.⁷⁷

Towards the end of the ninth century, particularly after the end of the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim (*A.D.* 833–42), who was the last caliph personally to take the field against the Byzantines, the Muslims' perception of Byzantine military power begins to change. Whereas earlier poets and writers demonstrated a belief in Arab military superiority, and sometimes even in an imminent final victory over the Byzantines,⁷⁸ later poets and writers (and also some officials) betray a less optimistic and, indeed, occasionally a gloomy picture of the fortunes on the Arab

side. Constantinople was no longer a realistic target and could no longer be reached by Arab armies — only by the mirage of pious or popular imagination. When the mystic al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922) was being tortured shortly before his execution, he is said to have asked the police officer in charge to refrain from beating him so that he “might offer the caliph a piece of advice as valuable as the conquering of Constantinople”.⁷⁹

The effect on the Muslims of the long term, though not constant, counter-offensive by the Byzantines and the inability, or sometimes unwillingness, of Muslim rulers to halt it, finds its reflection not only in Arabic chronicles but also in personal pronouncements by some historians, men of letters, poets,⁸⁰ and even by some weakened caliph, or a hand-tied wazīr.⁸¹ Apprehension of the Byzantine danger is reflected even in a dream, or rather a nightmare, which Sayf al-Dawla himself is reported to have experienced. He saw one night that his house in Aleppo was being encircled by an enormous serpent. One dream-reader, who came from Hims, interpreted this as an imminent attack by the Byzantines in which Sayf al-Dawla’s own palace would be besieged and taken. The historian of Aleppo, Kamal al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262), who relates this story, remarks that it so happened that God did cause the Byzantines to advance against Aleppo and to occupy Sayf al-Dawla’s residence.⁸²

One of the most interesting examples of the effects of Byzantine military victories against Sayf al-Dawla, at the popular level, can be seen in the Friday sermons or orations (singular *khutba*) of the tenth-century jurist ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Nubāta. As a contemporary of Sayf al-Dawla, he witnessed the defeats, or setbacks, of the Ḥamdānids at the hands of the Byzantines. In one of his sermons (not dated), he refers to the exploits of the “tyrant of the *Rūm*... who had overrun a large territory and subjugated several Muslim cities, destroying and killing, so that the Muslims were deeply shaken and Muslim armies hesitated to face up to him. It was by Allāh’s grace alone that this scourge was destroyed...for he was killed by his own people in his own country...a mercy from God which was undeserved by us”.⁸³ The Byzantine “tyrant” in question is identified as Nicephorus Phocas.⁸⁴ A preacher like Ibn Nubāta was evidently more modest and more truthful than the court poets.

Even in later times when Byzantium no longer represented a danger to the Muslims, one could still find poets and authors referring to the *Rūm* as the dreaded enemy in the old familiar fashion of earlier centuries. In some of these cases this is a mere confusion between *Rūm* and Western Crusaders. It seems that the word *Rūm* continued to be employed by later generations of Muslims as a generic term for any hostile Christian power.⁸⁵ A curious case is a long letter in verse addressed to the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd II (late fifteenth/early sixteenth century). Although this Sultan was already well established in Constantinople itself, and although the poem-letter was sent from Spain from the last community of Muslims under the Inquisition, nevertheless, the Spanish Christians are described as *Rūm*.⁸⁶

In certain categories of Arabic literature, especially from the fourth/tenth century, fighting the Byzantines is depicted, not only as a praiseworthy and pious activity, but also as deserving the financial support of the general public. This is particularly reflected in the *Maqāmāt* and other genres, such as the *Qaṣīdas Sāsāniyya* of Abū Dulaf and others, where pious zeal is occasionally shown to be exploited by an eloquent speaker pretending to be a warrior for the faith (*ghāzī*).⁸⁷

Brief reference can be made to another category of Arabic sources, namely that of the Muslim jurists who, when dealing with international relations, usually give the Byzantines as the "classic" example of the "house of war". This is particularly true of works from the period of the ninth to the eleventh centuries *A.D.*⁸⁸

VIII

But Byzantium was not merely the enemy in the eyes of Muslim intellectuals; it was also a historical reality and a civilization with which the Arabs shared elements in a common cultural legacy. How did Byzantine civilization appear to contemporary Muslims? To answer this question one needs to look, once again, at the development of Muslim society and its evolution into a world civilization. In the early period, when the Muslim Arabs had little administrative experience or cultural sophistication, they acknowledged their debt to the Byzantines and to others. The first generation of puritanical Muslims considered Byzantine political institutions to be too sophisticated and too worldly for their purposes;⁸⁹ but later generations thought differently.

As a model in their imperial rule, administration and protocol, the Byzantines in Arab eyes were usually only matched by the ancient Persians, though for obvious historical reasons the defunct Sāsānids of Persia were somehow considered superior in these fields. This view is reflected in works of political wisdom and mirrors for princes, themselves originally largely adopted from pre-Islamic Persian literature. Nevertheless the Byzantine monarch still has a place in such works, and is considered one of the great rulers of the world. He is portrayed as a ruler of a rich country, with enormous revenues, and a highly developed culture.⁹⁰ In one story conceived as fiction, but with a political moral, Byzantium is given the role of the "mistress of gold".⁹¹

Byzantine silk (*dībāj*) and other types of textiles and luxury goods acquire a proverbial status in Arabic literature.⁹² Achievement in art and architecture continue to be regarded as a major attribute of the Byzantines, and Byzantine mosaics, artifacts, and buildings receive appreciative mention.⁹³ In Arabic literary tradition, only the Chinese could excel the Byzantines in painting and other crafts.⁹⁴

The Byzantines as a people were considered as fine examples of physical beauty, and youthful slaves and slave-girls of Byzantine origin were highly valued. This is reflected not only in commercial tracts, but also in poetry, different types of *belles lettres*, and various other genres.⁹⁵ The Arabs' appreciation of the Byzantine female has a long history indeed. For the Islamic period, the earliest literary evidence we have is a *ḥadīth* (saying of the Prophet). Muḥammad is said to have addressed a newly converted Arab: "Would you like the girls of *Banū al-Asfar*?"⁹⁶ Not only were Byzantine slave-girls sought after for caliphal and other palaces (where some became mothers of future caliphs), but they also became the epitome of female physical beauty, home economy, and refined accomplishments.⁹⁷ The typical Byzantine maiden who captures the imagination of *littérateurs* and poets, had blond hair, blue or green eyes, a pure, healthy visage, lovely breasts, a delicate waist and a body that is like camphor or a flood of dazzling light. Arabic poetry even in later periods is full of imagery of the ideal female beauty. The Byzantine maiden has an important share of this imagery. It is true that the verses in question, on the whole, have little or no artistic value, but

they have some significance for our purpose. It is interesting that in this tradition the Byzantine female becomes the term of reference. Thus other beautiful or impressive things, e.g. wine, fruit, a clear pool of water, glittering swords, and of course, the stars, the sun and the moon, are compared to one feature or another of a Byzantine maiden.⁹⁸ Women of other origins, such as Persian, Turkish, Slav and negroid also figure in such poetry, but the Byzantine female generally retains a special position.

A highly appreciated accomplishment of Byzantine culture in the eyes of the Arabs was music. To some extent this was also related to the fact that a good slave-girl was also an accomplished player of at least one musical instrument. But the Arabs also acknowledged the contributions of the Byzantines in the science of music as well as in its practice.⁹⁹ 'Abbāsīd princesses learned to play musical instruments described as Byzantine, and caliphs and crown princes showed their admiration for these instruments.¹⁰⁰ In refined circles and among *littérateurs*, where music was highly appreciated, praise for music and singing was supported by stating that the Persians considered it good manners, and the *Rūm* counted it as part of philosophy.¹⁰¹ Moreover the Arabs' debt to the Byzantines in this respect was generally recognised.¹⁰²

It was, however, pointed out that in architecture, book-making and in calligraphy, the Arabs soon surpassed the Byzantines. It is reported that a sample of Arabic calligraphy sent during the times of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn was still kept as an *objet d'art* by tenth-century Byzantine emperors who displayed it on feast-days and other special occasions.¹⁰³

Byzantine manners and practical wisdom as regards food and diet were appreciated;¹⁰⁴ the Byzantine cuisine was regarded as superior in stuffed food (*al-hashw*) whereas the Persian cuisine was considered as excellent in sweets and cold food.¹⁰⁵ It is worth noting that a number of the able cooks in the *Arabian Nights* tales are slave-girls of Byzantine background.¹⁰⁶

In the realm of poetry and eloquence, the Arabs' pride in their own eloquence and taste for poetry made it difficult for them to admit that other nations might also share these attributes. But the Byzantines were allowed some credit in this respect;¹⁰⁷ it was usually pointed out, however, that the *Rūm* were far inferior to the ancient Greeks in their rhetoric and poetry.¹⁰⁸

On the negative side the Byzantines were criticised, and sometimes ridiculed, for such habits as castrating their children in order to sell them as slaves or servants,¹⁰⁹ for their alleged carelessness as regards hygiene, for other attributes which the Arabs considered as bad morals, bad manners, or bad taste — for example, adultery and the way Byzantines behaved in public, or chose their topics of conversation.¹¹⁰ Above all, the Byzantines were considered as among the world's most miserly peoples and as lacking in hospitality.¹¹¹ It was even alleged that "the notion of generosity (*jūd*) had no word in the language of the *Rūm*, since people usually coined words for what they were in the habit of using".¹¹²

When it comes to science, philosophy and literature, the Byzantines do not fare well. Once again, we need to view this against the background of cultural developments in the Islamic world. An important feature of Islamic civilization was the revival of the sciences and other cultural achievements of ancient peoples that Islam had absorbed or inherited. This activity was greatly patronised and encouraged by caliphs, governors and other Muslim officials or scholars. This revival of learning, which was activated in earnest during the reign of Hārūn al-

Rashīd and more particularly during that of al-Ma'mūn, reached its zenith in the third and fourth / ninth and tenth centuries; the latter century has been called the period of the Islamic Renaissance.¹¹³ Science and philosophy of the Greeks and Indians, and literature and wisdom of the Persians were translated into Arabic; Persian, Syriac, Egyptian and Mesopotamian works on astrology and popular traditions were revived. In such a milieu many old works were translated and thousands of new works were composed on every conceivable subject. Most of these were catalogued by the tenth-century Muslim savant of Baghdad, Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* which reflects the real scope of the intellectual life of Islam in this period.¹¹⁴ The Arabs had thus become experts in the fields of science and philosophy; moreover they regarded their own language as unmatched in its richness. It was therefore natural that the Byzantines should now weigh less in the Arabs' new scales.

One important aspect of this is the way in which learned Muslims viewed Byzantium's historical and cultural relationship with the ancient Greeks. Naturally the ancient Greek masters commanded the highest regard among Muslim scholars. Great effort and care, and considerable sums of money were expended in obtaining Greek works, and in translating them into Arabic. The Byzantines themselves supplied many manuscripts of such works on Muslim demand, and sometimes as a token of goodwill.¹¹⁵ Educated Arabs knew that the language of the Byzantines was Greek, although many thought otherwise.¹¹⁶ Some, like al-Mas'ūdī for instance, even acknowledged that in tenth-century Byzantium there were some savants who were familiar with the philosophical systems of the ancient Greeks.¹¹⁷ But on the whole the Byzantines appeared to the Muslims as a later breed, far removed from the Hellenes of old. The language of the Byzantines may have been Greek, but theirs was an inferior dialect, and their writers had no hope of matching the old masters.¹¹⁸ It was admitted that many Greek manuscripts were obtained by the Arabs from Byzantium, but it was also pointed out that those precious works had been locked away in caves and cellars where people were not permitted to reach them.¹¹⁹ Long before Gibbon's well-known remarks in the *Decline and Fall*, some tenth-century Arab scholars were convinced that since Christianity prevailed in the land of the *Rūm*, the pursuit of philosophy and allied sciences had been suppressed in that land.¹²⁰

Thus even if the Byzantines were admitted some kinship with the Hellenes, they were regarded as a degenerate offshoot, who turned away from the admirable intellectual path of their ancestors. There were some who even denied any real connection between Byzantines and ancient Greeks, claiming that the latter had long vanished, and that only their sciences had survived; and these were inherited by the Arabs.¹²¹ Soon Arab scholars were able to boast that some of their own works, in mathematics, for example, were marvelled at by the Byzantines.¹²² Nevertheless, in the thought-world of the Arabs, the Byzantines were classified among the civilised nations of the world along with the ancient Greeks, Persians, Chinese, Indians and Arabs. The outstanding attributes of the *Rūm* in this portrait of nations is, however, not so much philosophy and science, but religious institutions, administrative ability, warfare and the crafts.¹²³

Thus the picture of Byzantium as reflected in Arabic literature is the product of the particular relations and relationship that existed between Byzantines and Arabs. Although it may seem static, or stereotyped at times, nevertheless this picture had undergone considerable change during the period under review, i.e.,

from pre-Islamic times to the coming of the Crusaders. To the pre-Islamic Arabs the Byzantines represented a formidable imperial power and a highly civilised society. The early Muslims sympathised with the Christian empire of Constantinople but soon came to consider it as a potential enemy. After the Arab conquests Byzantium becomes the house of war *par excellence*, a distinction that was later to be competed for by the Crusaders and others.

At the cultural level the Arabs first saw the Byzantines as a people from whom to learn in administration, architecture and culture generally. But intellectually the Byzantines were soon relegated to an inferior position, mainly in view of the Arabs' own ascending civilization.

In the foregoing I have attempted to indicate the general characteristics of the Arabs' views of the Byzantines as reflected in various genres of Arabic literature. Two points need to be made before concluding. The first point is that in a more comprehensive consideration of this theme one has to take into account not only the classical or refined genres of Arabic literature, but also the popular or folk literature. Here one can only refer in passing to the Arabic epic of *Dhāt al-Himma* which is known to Byzantinists especially through the works of H. Grégoire and M. Canard¹²⁴ and which is perhaps reminiscent of the Byzantine epic *Digenis Akritas* in some of its themes, though not its framework. Of more general interest in this context is the more familiar *Thousand and One Nights* which have been cited already in the course of this paper. The *Nights* are perhaps more indicative of the image of the Byzantines in popular Arabic literature, for they are to some extent a mirror of the popular traditions of Arab society. The Byzantines are reflected in several stories of the *Nights*. Byzantine emperors, patricians, warriors, priests, nuns, slave-girls, and singers are mentioned as well as Byzantine silk, wine, food and other products. Byzantium is depicted as the foreign country *par excellence*. It is interesting that the flying horse of Baghdad is supposed to have flown away and landed in the country of the Byzantines. It is well-known that the longest tale in the whole of the *Nights*, the Tale of King 'Umar al-Nu'mān, contains many themes and motifs pertaining to Arab-Byzantine relations, including warfare, intrigue, diplomacy, commerce and marriage relations.¹²⁵ It takes Shahrazād no less than one hundred and one nights to tell this particular tale, or rather complex of tales. And this in itself is significant: it demonstrates to us once again the complexity of Arab-Byzantine relations; and the fact that over a considerable period, the Byzantines had a prominent place in the thought-world of the Arabs.

The second point is that in this paper less emphasis is laid on the works of Arabic historians and geographers; these are discussed elsewhere.¹²⁶ Some brief mention must, however, be made here of the views of a major historian and geographer, whose works have long been utilised by modern scholars, but whose special importance to the Arabs' knowledge of, and attitude towards, Byzantium has not been hitherto fully recognised; this is the tenth-century Arab humanist scholar and man of letters, al-Mas'ūdī. Al-Mas'ūdī's surviving works strongly demonstrate a genuine interest in Byzantium, not merely as an alien and hostile power, but also more especially as a society and a civilization that was worth knowing. He was anxious to include accounts of Byzantine history to his own day — something which is unknown in the works of other Muslim historians. His own comments on things Byzantine are of special importance. For example, speaking

of a Byzantine envoy who came to Damascus in *A.D.* 946, he describes him as "a man of understanding, well-versed in the history of the ancient Greeks and the *Rūm* and reasonably familiar with the views of their philosophers".¹²⁷ Explaining his own special interest in Byzantine history and contemporary affairs, al-Mas'ūdī has this to say: "the two kingdoms of the ancient Greeks and of the *Rūm* come only next to the ancient Persians in greatness and glory, they are also gifted in various branches of philosophy and sciences and in remarkable crafts and works of art. The empire of the *Rūm* (Byzantium) is, moreover, still in existence in our own times, and in possession of firmly established institutions and highly organised administration, so we did not wish to omit its history from our book".¹²⁸

Professor Marius Canard has on several occasions demonstrated the value of other Arabic literary sources (in addition to historians and geographers) for illuminating aspects of Arab-Byzantine relations. But apart from the contributions of Canard himself, other Arabic literary genres have not been sufficiently utilized for this purpose. Much still needs to be done in this field and the present paper is meant as an outline of a theme which forms the subject of current research and a more detailed survey by the present writer.

Footnotes

Part of the research and thinking on the subject of this paper was undertaken at the Institute of Advanced Studies in the Humanities, University of Edinburgh, during the (northern) summer of 1976. I am grateful to the Institute for giving me the opportunity to do research in a congenial atmosphere.

Works which have been cited more than once in the notes are referred to by author and short title only; publication details of the editions used are listed separately at the end of the notes. References for works cited once only are given in full as they occur.

1. In several articles, now collected in his *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient*, Variorum (London, 1973; hereafter, Canard, *Byzance*), especially nos. VII, XII, XIV, XV, XIX.

2. For example, Joan M. Hussey, "Byzantium and Islam: Some Contacts and Debts in the Early Middle Ages", paper read at the *Conference on Bilād al-Shām (Syria)*,

the University of Jordan, Amman, April, 1974; see also G. E. von Grunebaum, "Parallelism, Convergence and Influence in the Relations of Arab and Byzantine Philosophy, Literature and Piety", *DOP*, 18 (1964), 91-111; M. Canard, "Les relations politiques et sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes", *DOP*, 18 (1964), 35-56; O. Grabar, "Islamic Art and Byzantium", *DOP*, 18 (1964), 69-88; H. A. R. Gibb, "Arab-Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate", *DOP*, 12 (1958), 221-33.

3. Quoted by J. M. Hussey, *op. cit.*; cf. P. Lemerle, in *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam*, Actes du Symposium . . . organisé par R. Brunschvig et G. E. von Grunebaum (Paris, 1957), 227; see also P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971), especially chapter II, 22 ff.

4. See in particular, A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, 2 vols. in 3 pts. (Brussels, 1935-68): vol. I includes, and vol. II.ii is entirely devoted to,

extracts from Arabic sources translated by Canard (hereafter, Vasiliev-Canard); see also M.

Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides* (Alger, 1951); *idem*, *Sayf ad-Daula, Recueil des textes [arabes] relatifs à l'émir Sayf ad-Daula le Hamdanide* (Alger, 1934; hereafter Canard, *Sayf ad-Daula*); *idem*, *Byzance*, especially no. XVII.

5. R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); N. Daniel, *Islam and the West — The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1967).

6. J. Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam", *DOP*, 18 (1964), 115-32; A. Th. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam* (Louvain-Paris, 1969); *idem*, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam (VIII s — XIII s)* (Leiden, 1972).

7. V. Christides, "Arabs as 'Barbaroi' before the rise of Islam", *Balkan Studies*, 10 (1969), 315-24; *idem*, "Pre-Islamic Arabs in Byzantine Illuminations", *Le Muséon*, 88 (1970), 167-81; *idem*, "Saracens' prodosia in Byzantine Sources", *Byzantion*, 40 (1970), 11 ff.; *idem*, "The names ἈΡΑΒΕΣ, ΣΑΡΑΚΗΝΟΙ, etc., and their False Byzantine Etymologies", *BZ*, 65 (1972), 329-33.

8. F. Babinger's article "Rûm", in *EI*¹ concentrates on the latter sense of the word, and generally ignores Arabic sources; see the next note (9) and p.55 above.

9. Al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, 259-60; trans., II, 48 and notes on 207. For earlier examples of the use of this appellation, see I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S. M. Stern and C. R. Barber, vol. I (London, 1969), 243-4. (The etymologies of *Banū-al-Aṣfar* and of other names applied to the

Byzantines in Arabic, are discussed in a forthcoming study by the present writer.)

10. E.g., Tāhā Ḥusain, *Fī al-Adab al-ʿġāhili* (Cairo, 1927); R. Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, I (Paris, 1952), esp. 162 ff.; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *Maṣādir al-Shiʿr al-ʿġāhili wa Qimatuhā al-Tārīkhiyya* (Cairo, 1956), 320 ff.; cf. A. J. Arberry, *The Seven Odes, The First Chapter in Arabic Literature* (London, 1957; hereafter, Arberry, *Seven Odes*), 16 ff. and 228 ff.

11. E.g., Nashwān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī, *Shams al-ʿUlūm*, ed., in part, by ʿAzīm al-Dīn Aḥmad (Leiden, 1916), 38, 46, 67, 84 and *passim*; also *Khulāṣat al-Sīra al-ʿġāmi'a* (Cairo, n.d.), 61; al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, ed. A. M. Karmīlī, VIII (Baghdad, 1931), *passim*; Wahb b. Munabbih, *al-Tijān fī Mulūk Ḥimyar*, as transmitted by Ibn al-Kalbī (Hyderabad, 1347 *A.H.*), 79.

12. E.g., al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, para. 87, 389, 567, 1086; cf. Ahmad M. H. Shbouḷ, *Al-Masʿūdī and His World: A Muslim Humanist and his Interest in Non-Muslims* (London, 1979; hereafter, Shbouḷ, *Al-Masʿūdī*), 109, 127, 139, 162; see also Diʿbil, *Shiʿr*, 102, 193 ff.

13. For recent studies on Arab-Byzantine relations before Islam, see in particular I. (Kawar) Shahīd, "The Arabs in the Peace Treaty of A.D. 561", *Arabica*, 3 (1956), 181-213; *idem*, "The Patriciate of Arethas", *BZ*, 52 (1959), 321-43; *idem*, "Byzantino-Arabica: The Conference of Ramla, A.D. 524", *JNES*, 23 (1964), 115-31; A. A. Vasiliev, "Notes on Some Episodes concerning the Relations between the Arabs and the Byzantine Empire from the Fourth to the Sixth Century", *DOP*, 9-10 (1955-6), 306- 6.

14. E.g., al-A'shā, *Dīwān*, 38; Imru'-l-Qays, *Dīwān*, 269; Labīd, *Dīwān*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās (Kuwait, 1962), 275; 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī, *Dīwān*, ed. A. J. Mu'ayyid (Baghdad, 1965), 53, 65, 87, 125; al-Kindī, quoted in al-Buhturī's *Hamāsa* (Leiden, 1909), col. 383; see W. Caskel, "Al-A'shā", *EP*²; F. Gabrieli, "'Adī b. Zayd", *EP*².
15. On this poet see Tāhā Husain, *op. cit.*, 211-13; Blachère, *op. cit.*, II, 261-5; S. Boustany, in *EP*², III, s.v., Arberry, *Seven Odes*, 31 ff.
16. Imru'-l-Qays, *Dīwān*, 279; see also 65 ff., 213-14, 252.
17. E.g., 'Antara, *mu'allāqa*, in his *Dīwān*, ed. M. S. Mawlawī (Damascus, 1970), 196; Arberry, *Seven Odes*, 180.
18. Al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī, quoted in al-Jumāhī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 104-5.
19. Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāh, quoted in Yāqūt, *Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866), I, 422 (s.v. Ayla).
20. See, e.g., al-Jāhīz, *Al-Tarbī' wa-l-Tadwīr*, para. 29; Ibn Qutayba, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, III, 95 and IV, 25; Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, XI, 52.
21. Ṭarafa, *mu'allāqa*, in his *Dīwān*, with al-Shantamarī's commentary, 15; trans. in Arberry, *Seven Odes*, 84; also in al-Tabrīzī, *Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id al-'Ashr*, ed. M. M. Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, n.d.), 94; Al-A'shā, *Dīwān*, 165.
22. On Byzantine views of the Arabs as nomads, see Christides, "Arabs as 'Barbaroi'" (as in note 7), especially 321-2.
23. This is further, and explicitly, stated by Islamic commentators on pre-Islamic poetry, e.g. al-Shantamarī on the *mu'allāqa* of Ṭarafa, *Dīwān*, 15; al-Qurashī's commentary on the *mu'allāqa* of al-A'shā, line 25, see al-Qurashī, *Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab*, ed. A. M. Bajāwī, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1969), I, 255; see also *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, 807, or ed. Hārūn and Shākir, 400 (commentary on verses by 'Alqama al-Fahl); cf. *Dīwān 'Alqama al-Fahl* (with al-Shantamarī's commentary), ed. Luṭfī al-Ṣaqqāl and Durriyya al-Khaṭīb (Aleppo, 1969), 62; Al-A'shā's allusion to the lock and key associated with the Byzantine (*al-Rūmī*) is worth noting in this context, see his *Dīwān*, 10.
24. Imru'-l-Qays, *Dīwān*, 43; al-A'sha, *Dīwān*, 11; Zuhayr, *mu'allāqa*, line 9, in *Dīwān*, with al-Shantamarī's commentary (Cairo, 1323 A.H.); cf. trans. in Arberry, *Seven Odes*, 114.
25. Several examples: al-A'sha, *Dīwān*, 114, 118, 147, 156, 167, 189, 209; al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, XVI, 15 (quoting Hassān); see in general Nāsir al-Dīn al-Asad, *al-Qiyān wa-l-Ghinā' fī al-'Aṣr al-Jāhili* (Cairo, 1968).
26. See, e.g., al-Qālī, *al-Nawādir*, 199, quoting al-'Utbī and Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī, on the authority of Ibn Durayd; see also Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, I, 135-7.
27. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, I, 224.
28. Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1858), 104-10.
29. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, para. 1454-57.
30. Al-Jāhīz, *al-Bayān*, I, 72; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, i, 161-2; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 264-5; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, II, 297; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba* (Cairo, 1323 A.H.), III, 235; cf. also W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford, 1953), 89.
31. See Clive Foss, "The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of Antiquity", *EHR*, 90 (1975), 722.

32. *Qur'ān*, "Sūrat al-Rūm", 30: 2-4.
33. *Ibid.*, 30: 4-5. These verses are generally considered as belonging to the early Meccan period, *A.D.* 610-622; Th. Nöldeke and F. Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1909-38), I, 70 f., assign them to after *A.H.* 10/*A.D.* 631, but this cannot be accepted; cf. W. M. Watt, *Companion to the Qur'ān* (London, 1967), 184; *idem*, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān* (Edinburgh, 1970), 3 and 189, note 2; see also R. Blachère, *Le Coran, traduit de l'Arabe* (Paris, 1969), 429-30, notes.
34. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, pt. XXI, 16-21 (commentary on Sūra 30); Ibn 'Asākir, I, 354-62; this tradition is discussed in a different context by F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam* (Leiden, 1975).
35. W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1956), 1-77, and *passim*; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History — A New Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1970), chap. II.
36. Ibn 'Asākir, I, 383-4; al-Jāhiz, *al-Uthmāniyya*, 114; cf. also al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, pt. XXVI, 82 ff. (commentary on "Sūrat al-Faḥ", 48:16).
37. Ibn 'Asākir, I, 66-7, 375-6 and *passim*; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kanz al-Mulūk*, 78-9.
38. *Ibn 'Asākir*, I, 66-7; also *idem*, *MS. Zāhiriyya Library* (Damascus), 3380, vol: V, fol. 346^r; cf. Sa'īd al-Afghānī, "Mu'āwiya fī-l-Asā'ir", *Conference on Bilād al-Shām, Amman, 1974*, Papers in Arabic, (Beirut, 1975), 46.
39. Ibn 'Asākir, I, 377.
40. Muslim, *Saḥīḥ*, "Kitāb al-Fitna": no. 52, ḥadīth no. 35; Ibn 'Asākir, I, 66-7, 375-7.
41. Ibn 'Asākir, I, 223-4.
42. *Idem*, I, 66-7; the description "the horned Byzantines" is supposed to refer to their customary long hair; see Ibn Qutayba, *Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth* (Cairo, *A. H.* 1328), 155; trans. G. Lecomte, *Le Traité des Divergences du Ḥadīth d'Ibn Qutayba* (Damascus, 1962), 142.
43. Ibn 'Asākir, I, 413.
44. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 105 ff.; Shaban, *op. cit.*, chap. 2.
45. Ibn 'Asākir, I, 415.
46. Cf. Watt, *op. cit.*, 340 ff., and *passim*.
47. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 607; Ibn 'Asākir, I, 417-20; cf. Watt, *op. cit.*, 43-4.
48. Al-Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ*, book I, ḥadīth no. 6; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ser. I, iii, 1566-8; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, i, 185; Ibn 'Asākir, I, 471-2, cf. 393; cf. *Et*, s.v. "Kaṣṣar".
49. Ibn 'Asākir, I, 220-32, 602-4; II, i, 188-9; cf. M. Canard, "Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende", *J.A.*, 208 (1926), 61-121, repr. in *idem*, *Byzance*, no. I.
50. Ibn 'Asākir, I, 443, also 438, 445-6; cf. also al-Jāhiz, *al-Uthmāniyya*, 65, 232, 242 (on the other hand fighting the Byzantines is depicted as easier than fighting the Persians, *ibid.*, 214).
51. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, I, iii, 2103; Ibn 'Asākir, I, 474-5.
52. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, I, iii, 2102; Ibn 'Asākir, I, 475.
53. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, I, iii, 2089, 2099.
54. Arab genealogists usually link the Rūm with the biblical Esau, son of Isaac, thus making the Byzantines among the children of Abraham; see, e.g., Ibn Qutayba, *Mā'ārif*, 38-9; al-

- Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, para. 664; Ibn 'Asākir, I, 12-13.
55. Ibn 'Asākir, I, 461-2.
56. *Idem*, I, 533-4.
57. *Idem*, I, 476-7; also 475.
58. *Idem*, I, 477.
59. Al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, II, ii, 1194; Ibn 'Asākir, II, i, 26-7, 42-3; trans. 40 ff.; Ibn Shaddād, *al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīra*, ed. S. Dahan (Damascus, 1956), II, 58. This problem has frequently been discussed by modern scholars; see especially Gibb, "Arab-Byzantine Relations" (as in note 2) and Grabar, "Islamic Art" (as in note 2), 82-3.
60. Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, II, 111-15; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, para. 756, 2033; al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān*, I, 126-7; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 593; for envoys between Constantinople and the Muslims as early as the Caliphate of 'Umar and 'Uthmān, see al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 158; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, I, 293-5; Ibn 'Asākir, I, 595.
61. Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, II, 114-15.
62. Cf. Gibb, *op. cit.*, 365; for Byzantine polemics against Islam, see the works of Meyendorff and Khoury cited in note 6 above; for examples from the Islamic side, see al-Jāhiz, *al-Radd 'alā al-Naṣārā*, in *Thalāth Rasā'il*, ed. J. Finkel (Cairo, 1926); see also *idem*, in *JAOs*, 47 (1929); for an exchange of polemics in verse see G. E. von Grunbaum, "Eine poetische Polemik zwischen Byzanz und Bagdad im 10. Jahrhundert", *Analecta Orientalia*, 14 (Rome, 1937), 43-64, repr. in his *Islam and Mediaeval Hellenism*, Variorum (London, 1976), no. XIX.
63. Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, II, 111-15, 164; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, II, 71-2; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, para. 2033; Ibn 'Asākir, II, i, 26 ff.; French trans. 40 ff.
64. For embassies, see al-Jāhiz, *Rasā'il*, II, 269-70; al-Balawī, *Sīrat Ahmad Ibn Tūlūn*, 36; Ibn al-Hamadānī, *Takmila*, 138; al-Qādī al-Nu'mān, *al-Majālis*, *passim*; cf. S. M. Stern, "An Embassy from the Byzantine Emperor to the Fātimid Caliph al-Mu'izz", *Byzantion*, 20 (1950), 239-58; F. Dachraoui, "Le Crète dans le conflit entre Byzance et al-Mu'izz", *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 7 (1959), 307-18; *idem*, in *Hawliyyāt al-ḡām'a al-Tūnisīyya*, 2 (1965), 27-35; Canard, "Les relations politiques" (as in note 2), especially 35-41.
65. Al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, III, 1917, 2028, 2112; al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 220; cf. further, Shboul, *Al-Mas'ūdī*, 227, 263 (note 2).
66. Al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, III, 695-6, 1109; cf. Vasiliev-Canard, I, 289-91; al-Qādī al-Nu'mān, *al-Majālis*; also reflected in poetry, see al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, III, no. 629; al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, III, no. 189, 112 ff.; on poetry see further below.
67. See, e.g., Ibn Sa'īd, *Mughrib*, ed. K. Tallquest (Leiden, 1899), 18-23; Vasiliev-Canard, I, ii, 204 ff.; cf. M. Canard, "Une lettre de Muhammad Ibn Tuğj...à l'empereur Romain Lecapène", *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales* (1936), 189-209; repr. in *idem*, *Byzance*, no. VII; cf. from the Byzantine side, Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Letters*, ed. and trans. R. Jenkins and L. Westerink (Washington, 1973), nos. 1, 2, 102.
68. Qudāma, *Kharāj*, in BGA, VI (Leiden, 1889), 252.
69. Maqdisī, in BGA, III (Leiden, 1876), 147-8; cf. Vasiliev-Canard, II, ii, 422 ff.; cf. further, Shboul, *Al-Mas'ūdī*, 242-3.

70. From the Umayyad period see, e.g., Jarīr, *Dīwān*, 2 vols., ed. N. Ṭāhā (Cairo, 1969-71), II, 702, 742-5; for the 'Abbāsīd period, see notes 72-77, below.
71. Al-Marzubānī, *Muqtabas*, abridged by al-Yaghmurī, I, ed. R. Sellheim (Wiesbaden, 1964), 133 (quoting a contemporary poet on the authority of al-Aṣmaʿī).
72. Firās al-Murādī, quoted by al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 419-20.
73. Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa, and al-Khalī' al-Bāhili, both quoted by al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 170, 190; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, III, 706 ff.; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. S. D. Goitein (Jerusalem, 1936), V, 168; Muslim b. al-Walīd, *Dīwān*, ed. S. Dahan (Cairo, 1961), 8-17, 230-6; al-Ṣūlī, *Akhhbār Abī Tammām*, ed. K. 'Asākir and others (Cairo, 1937), 7-8; al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, III, no. 629; cf. Vasiliev-Canard, I, 397-403.
74. Abū Firās, *Dīwān*, 3 vols., ed. S. Dahan (Beirut, 1944); cf. Dvorak, *Abū Firās* (Leiden, 1895); cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *EP*, s.v.; al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, III, 112-16, IV, 15-26; cf. Vasiliev-Canard, II, ii, 299-376; M. Canard, "Mutanabbī et la guerre byzantino-arabe", in *Al-Mutanabbī* (Memorial Volume, Beirut, 1936), 99-114.
75. Ibn al-Jayshī (praising Ibn al-Khalījī, ca. 293 A.H.) quoted in al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 260.
76. Abū Nuwās, quoted by al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān*, II, 228.
77. Dībil, *Shi'r*, 112; cf. also other examples in al-Jumahī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 201; *al-Mufaddaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, 268; al-Jāhiz, *al-Hayawān*, VII, 162; al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 219.
78. See, e.g., al-Jāhiz, *Rasā'il*, I, 185; see also M. Canard, "Les expéditions des Arabes", as in note 49.
79. 'Arīb, *Ṣilat Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* (*Tabarī Continuatus*), ed. M. de Goeje (Leiden, 1897), 195; cf. also L. Massignon, "Le mirage byzantin dans le miroir bagdadien d'il y a mille ans", *AIPHOS*, 10 (1950), 429-48.
80. E.g., pertaining to the tenth century A.D., see al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, para. 507 and *passim*; cf. Shboul, *Al-Mas'ūdī*, 262; al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, 227-9; al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 201-2, 218-19; cf. al-Maqrizī, *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 180.
81. Ibn al-Hamadānī, *Takmila*, 210-11; Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, ed. R. Amedroz (Oxford, 1920), VI, 225; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, ed. A. Shaljī, I, 52-3.
82. Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, ed. S. Dahan, vol. I (Damascus, 1951), 139.
83. *Dīwān Khutab Ibn Nubāra*, ed. Ṭāhir al-Jazā'iri, (Beirut, 1311 A.H.), 238-40; cf. excerpts in Canard, *Sayf ad-Daula*, 416-17.
84. Murdered A.D. 969.
85. E.g., Ibn Qalāqis (d. 567/1172) quoted by al-'Imād al-Isfahānī, *Kharīda*, section on poets of Egypt, ed. A. Amīn and others (Cairo, 1951), I, 150; Ibn 'Arrām (d. 580/1184), *ibid.*, II, 171; al-Muhadhhab b. al-Zubayr (d. 561/1164), *ibid.*, I, 205, 207; al-Daqqūn al-Andalusī (d. 921/1515) quoted in al-Maqqarī, *Azhār al-Riyād*, ed. M. Saqqā and others (Cairo, 1939), I, 103 ff.
86. Al-Maqqarī, *op. cit.*, I, 108-15.
87. See, e.g., al-Hamadhānī, *Maqāmāt*, 87-8; cf. the pertinent remarks of C. E. Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (Leiden, 1976), I, 42-3, 86-7; cf. also al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, 227-9.
88. E.g., al-Shāfirī, *al-Umm*, ed. M. Z. al-Najjār (Cairo, 1961), IV, 239;

- Ibn 'Aqīl al-Hanbalī, *al-Funūn*, ed. G. Makdisi (Beirut, 1970), I, 58-60; Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrī, *al-Mu'tamad*, ed. M. Hamidullah and others (Damascus, 1965), II, 536; cf. also al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, 259-60.
89. Al-Jāhiz, *al-'Uthmāniyya*, 211; al-Qālī, *al-Nawādir*, III, 175; al-Tawhīdī, *Risālat al-Saqīfa*, in *Thalāth Rasā'il*, ed. I. Keilani (Damascus, 1951), 17; al-Ghazālī, *Nasīhat al-Mulūk*, trans. F. R. C. Bagley (London, 1964), 64.
90. Al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān*, I, 137, 384; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iqd*, III, 354-5.
91. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kanz al-Mulūk*, 31-5.
92. Al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn*, 36-7; Tha'ālībī, *Laiṭīf*, ed. I. Ibyārī and H. K. Ṣayrafī (Cairo, 1960), 215; trans. C. E. Bosworth, *The Book of Entertaining and Curious Information* (Edinburgh, 1968), 139; Ghars al-Ni'ma al-Ṣābī, *al-Hafawāt al-Nādira*, ed. Ṣāliḥ Ashtar (Damascus, 1967), 294-5; also in *Alf Layla wa Layla*, *passim*.
93. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, ed. A. Zaki (Cairo, 1924), I, 193-5; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, para. 621.
94. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iqd*, III, 272-3.
95. Al-Jāhiz (attributed), *al-Tabaṣṣur bi-l-Tijāra*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥ. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (Cairo, 1935), *passim*; Ibn Buṭlān, *Risāla fī Shirā al-Raqīq wa Taqīb al-'Abīd*, ed. A. M. Hārūn (in *Nawādir al-Makḥūṭāt*, vol. 4, Cairo, 1954), especially 352, 377, 387; trans. in B. Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople* (New York, 1974), II, 154, 250; for an example in other literary genres, see Hamadhānī, *Maqāmāt*, 112; trans. in Lewis, *ibid.*, II, 266.
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Illustration of the “Triumph” of Joseph the Patriarch¹

Margaret Riddle

The popularity of the story of Joseph as a subject for artistic expression in many different media during the early Christian and mediaeval periods is no doubt due in part to the nature of the Genesis narrative itself; its inherently dramatic and human qualities make it an attractive subject for the artist.

But it was especially the typological possibilities of Joseph's story which very early were exploited in both text and image to underline the relationship between the old and new covenants. An interpretation of Joseph's life supplied by the fifth century Bishop of Ravenna, Peter Chrysologus, illustrates in a representative way how the Old Testament personage symbolically prefigured Christ's passion: in *Sermon 146*, Chrysologus states:

“Joseph incurs jealousy because of his prophetic dreams, Christ provokes envy because of his prophetic visions; Joseph is lowered into the pit of death and emerges from it alive, Christ is delivered to the sepulchre and returns alive; Joseph is bartered, Christ is sold at a price; Joseph is brought to Egypt, it is to Egypt that Christ flees; Joseph provides abundant bread to the hungry people, Christ satisfies the nations of the entire world with heavenly bread.”²

Thus Professor Stričić has argued recently that the fourteen Joseph scenes on the famous ivory cathedra of Maximianus at Ravenna should be seen as representing, and in fact taking the place of, the scenes of Christ's passion.³ If this hypothesis is accepted, the Old Testament story becomes a part of a life of Christ cycle, and the account of the passion is told allegorically, by a series of episodes from the story of Joseph.

Certainly we do have evidence that events from Joseph's life were used in art in the early centuries for purposes of typological parallelism. The fourth-century decorative programme of the Lateran basilica in Rome featured a series of such typological depictions, probably including the sale of Joseph to the Ishmaelite merchants, which appeared opposite the illustration of Christ's betrayal by Judas.⁴ Again, in the sixth century, a set of concordant *tituli* from Ravenna pairs the same two scenes.⁵ But these are selected scenes, in each case a part of a series of concordant Old and New Testament illustrations. Nothing in early Christian art quite prepares us for a full exchange of lives, as it were, such as Professor Stričić suggests has taken place on the chair of Maximianus.

Whether or not such a thorough utilization of the typological potential of the Joseph story was made in the sixth century, mediaeval exegesis in the West continued and elaborated this idea of Joseph as an ante-type of Christ. In the *Glossa ordinaria*,⁶ in works of Vincent of Beauvais⁷ and Isidore of Seville⁸ and in the introduction of the Bobbio Missal,⁹ the idea is explored with varying degrees of confidence and imagination. Artistic expression of such typological

interpretations of Joseph's life appears in the windows of French Gothic cathedrals.¹⁰

In addition to the theological weight given to the Joseph story, early Christian and mediaeval exegesis also made use of the narrative as a moral exemplar. This, in fact, began with Philo, who saw the patriarch as an ideal statesman and ruler: "a most admirable supervisor and arbiter in times of both famine and plenty".¹¹ As Schapiro has pointed out, Christian writers, including Saint Ambrose, Saint Paulinus of Nola and Cassiodorus, all celebrate Joseph's many virtues and recommend him as an example of humility, chastity, modesty, temperance and filial devotion.¹² Saint Ambrose, in particular, probably inspired by Philo, finds him a perfect administrator and statesman and hence the model of an excellent priest and bishop.¹³

The miniatures of mediaeval moralized bibles demonstrate how both typological and moral exegesis could be combined to illustrate biblical narratives. A folio from a thirteenth-century French *Bible moralisée* exemplifies this treatment of the narrative in relation to the Joseph story. (Plate 1).¹⁴ Four medallions with episodes from the Joseph story are paralleled with four scenes chosen either from Christ's life or from contemporary practice and behaviour, in order to extract a moral lesson from the Joseph exemplar. The first two medallions juxtapose Joseph's "Triumph", his honouring and promotion by Pharaoh who "made him to ride in the second chariot which he had", with Christ's Ascension. The accompanying text clarifies Joseph's position as an ante-type of Christ: the patriarch's glory prefigures that of Christ, while the Egyptians who bow the knee to him prefigure the disciples who adore Christ at His Ascension. The final two medallions derive a moral lesson for Christians from Jacob's willingness to listen to the news of an abundance of corn in Egypt, made possible by Joseph's foresight. Christians will be equally well-rewarded by listening to the truth from preachers, who are the messengers of Christ.

The artist can underline the suggestion of Joseph's life as an ante-type of Christ's by formal means. The compositions of the first two medallions centre around the pivotal figures of Joseph and Christ, while gestures of secondary figures in the Joseph medallion are echoed in the Ascension scene. Similar formal repetitions are used to link the scenes which together focus on a desirable Christian virtue. Thus the selection of scenes, their presentation and composition can all be directly affected by the theological and moral context in which they are meant to be viewed.

In many cases it can be shown that social and cultural factors also have influenced the manner in which a particular scene is depicted, and the purpose of this paper is to isolate differences in the depiction of the Triumph of Joseph and to venture some suggestions about reasons for such diversity. There seems to be some evidence to suggest that Byzantine artists were more prepared than their Western counterparts to employ imagery familiar through imperial iconography, including contemporary ideas and rituals of kingship, to illustrate Joseph's triumph.

Early Christian art provides little assistance in gauging how the scene of Joseph's appearance in the second chariot of Pharaoh was depicted in the first few centuries. Some Joseph cycles like that contained in the Vienna Genesis¹⁵ are incomplete and the appropriate folios are missing; while in others, such as the chair of Maximianus, the only scenes which express the idea of Joseph's triumph

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are the supervision of grain storage before the seven years of famine.¹⁶ Occasionally, early cycles can be reconstructed quite securely from later monuments. This is the case with the thirteenth-century mosaic cycle of Joseph in San Marco, Venice, which has been shown convincingly to be a repetition of the sixth-century manuscript known as the Cotton Genesis.¹⁷ In this cycle, however, the appropriate scene is again missing.¹⁸

Yet surely the early tradition of using Joseph as a moral exemplar, particularly for rulers, might be expected to have some reverberations, in both East and West, in the depiction of his elevation with its associations of coronation and kingship ritual. It may also be expected that the tradition would continue in texts associated with kingship.

In the West, from Carolingian times, particularly in coronation rites and prayers, there were regular and earnest hopes expressed that the newly crowned king would follow the example of Old Testament figures during his reign;¹⁹ but Joseph does not seem to feature often in this Western "exemplar literature", although he does appear in some works surrounding the Carolingian courts. For example, Theodulf of Orleans hails Charlemagne as Solomon, David and Joseph, and a similar comparison is made in the prefatory poem to Charles the Bald in the Vivian Bible.²⁰

Perhaps as a consequence of this rather low profile as a model ruler in the West, or perhaps because of innate differences between East and West in the exploitation of opportunities to impart imperial flourish and zest to illustrations of biblical subjects, Western monuments tend to provide a fairly simple interpretation of the Triumph scene. In fact, they tend to deflate rather than inflate the trappings of kingship in dealing with the Joseph story. There is seldom any striking evidence of contemporary coronation rites, or a renaissance of early imperial motifs entering into the illustrations in an overt manner.

The appropriate miniature from the famous mid-thirteenth century Pierpont Morgan Picture Book (Plate 2)²¹ follows the *Genesis* text quite closely. It depicts the dreams of Pharaoh, his attempts to have them explained by the astrologers, and Joseph successfully interpreting them. The last quadrant on the page carries both the scene of Joseph's investiture with the ring and cloak, and below, the triumphal scene in the second chariot. Joseph, uncrowned, and carrying an unadorned staff, appears in an only slightly glorified farm cart, drawn by two horses. A small throng of Egyptians pay homage as required by the text.

It is similar in type to other Western portrayals of the scene, and the appropriate medallion of the *Bible moralisée* (Plate 1) provides another example. Sometimes Joseph is accompanied by a soldier and the horse-drawn cart is given a rider with a scourge as a mark of dignity.²² Often the tri-form crown is used and the fleur-de-lis surmounted sceptre adds a note of contemporary fashion and nationality, but these accoutrements are only what might be expected and the action presents no surprises at all. Other Western manuscripts are even more subdued and economical in their rendering of the scene. They often choose to present an earlier moment in the narrative to express Joseph's elevation to high office. For example, in the so-called Queen Mary's Psalter, an English manuscript of the fourteenth century, Joseph receives a staff of office from Pharaoh, symbolizing the investiture with ring, gold chain and vestments which is related in *Genesis*.²³

Western depictions of Joseph's Triumph therefore show little evidence of the

introduction of motifs not suggested in the biblical narrative but introduced in response to events and attitudes ultimately social, cultural or political in nature. On the other hand, in Byzantium it seems that such intrusions occur in both text and image.

Although the Byzantine treatises of advice to rulers, beginning with that of Agapetus in the sixth century, seem at this stage in my research to provide no direct reference to Joseph, clear allusions to his exalted status as an imperial figure are found in other Eastern literature. In the genre of hymns, there are two surviving kontakia to Joseph by Romanos the Melodist, of the sixth-century. Romanos' two hymns emphasize the two principal aspects of exegesis mentioned earlier. Firstly in *Hymn 43*, the typological aspect is emphasized: Joseph is explicitly named and treated as a figure of Christ throughout;²⁴ while in *Hymn 44*, entitled in one manuscript, "The Temptation of Joseph", the moral teachings of the Joseph story receive energetic expression.²⁵

In the Byzantine liturgical year, Joseph is honoured on the Monday of Holy Week. In addition to the synaxarion for that day, which relates the story of his life with typological comments and exegesis, there are two hymns which salute him. The first appears in the liturgy for Sunday night, which begins the Holy Monday celebrations and is a long typological excursion attributed to Andrew of Crete, which would date it to the early eighth century. The other is an anonymous, probably sixth-century hymn, which is sometimes given to Romanos.²⁶ Beyond the main typological and moral thrusts of these hymns to Joseph other implications are evident. The anonymous kontakion, which is still in use in the Orthodox liturgy, begins

"Jacob lamented the loss of Joseph and the noble man sat in a chariot honoured as *basileus* ..." ²⁷

In Romanos' *Hymn 43*, Joseph is again consistently described as *basileus*.²⁸ The whole work is quite heavily infused with royal images, which begin in the prooimion which states that Joseph "placed his hope in God and through Him was given the crown of the kingdom",²⁹ and the portents of his elevation (his dreams) are directly and immediately related to his future kingship.³⁰

In Stanza 17 Romanos tells us that when Joseph reigned over Egypt one could see a king govern his people as he should, with paternal affection, and that he proved a great provider for his people. Joseph emerges not only as a type of Christ, but as a good, wise and humane king. What is more, Romanos obviously envisages Joseph in terms of Byzantine emperorship: when his brothers see him approaching the pastures and plan to kill him, they sneer, "Welcome to the King! Let us dip his purple in blood". He goes to make his first *prokenson*, a remark referring to the imperial ritual when a Byzantine emperor moved from one palace to another.³¹

Another interesting feature of this hymn is the sun-imagery with which it is invested. Joseph is described as the "image of shining beauty" and "shining like the sun".³² He is also the "spiritual sun who rises like the day",³³ with obvious allusion to Christ, but still enhancing Joseph's image with a *Sol-invictus* flavour.

This use of solar imagery in Romanos' hymn seems to be an extension of similar imagery applied to Byzantine emperors, particularly in reference to coronation rites and triumphal scenes. In Corippus' panegyric poem to Justin II, the focus on solar imagery comes at the moment of the raising on the shield: "The mighty

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prince stood on that shield, looking like the sun. Another light shone from the city". Averil Cameron points out that the raising on the shield here is like the rising of the sun and this is the sun of justice, that is, Christ himself.³⁴

The Byzantine equation of Emperor-Sun-Christ is implicit in Corippus' poem. Some decades earlier Joseph appears to have been drawn into the matrix of imperial, solar and Christian imagery by Romanos. Both as a type of Christ and as an imperial figure, he is given the appropriate solar imagery.

In another genre of literature, romance, Joseph is invested with very explicit *Sol-invictus* allusions. This occurs in the *Romance of Joseph and Asenath*, a work which appears to have had its origins in a Jewish environment in Palestine in the first or second centuries *A.D.* and which remained popular in both the Greek Christian and Islamic cultures.³⁵ In this romance, which expands the brief mention in Genesis of Joseph's marriage to the daughter of Potiphara, Priest of On (*Gen.* 41:45), the appearance of Joseph to his future wife is heavy with *Sol-invictus* imagery. He arrives at Heliopolis on a celestial chariot, dressed in a marvellous white tunic; the purple vestment thrown over him is woven with gold and he wears a crown of gold on his head, with twelve precious stones and on the gems are twelve rays of gold. Fortunately, Asenath realizes the nature of the epiphany she has witnessed and confesses after his departure: "The sun came from the sky toward us on his chariot and he entered our house today".³⁶ This romance, often presented together with a *Life of Joseph* attributed to Ephraim, had a long life in Byzantium. Illustrated versions exist which were written as late as the sixteenth century.³⁷

Another important Byzantine textual source which gives to Joseph the significant title of *basileus* is the *Palaea Historica* — a compilation of Old Testament material with infusions of legendary and typological elucidations.³⁸ It seems likely that these literary sources, together with the cultural attitudes which they reflect, could well have influenced the manner in which Byzantine artists saw fit to illustrate Joseph's Triumph.

One means by which Byzantine artists might choose to emphasize Joseph's imperial connotations would be, of course, to employ imagery from Byzantine imperial ritual. In imperial iconography the emperor is often shown mounted, followed by his retinue and welcomed by a crowd at the city-gate.³⁹ Although no Byzantine illustration seems to exist which employs this imagery for Joseph's Triumph, it is possible that some echoes of such an Eastern interpretation appear in a group of Hebrew manuscripts, and in a manuscript from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

An illuminated fourteenth-century Spanish school Haggadah now in the British Museum (BM Or. 2884) provides a good example of this imperial motif employed for Joseph's promotion to viceroy. (Plate 3) In the lower register of fol. 8^r, below the scenes of Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams and the group of worried Egyptian astrologers, Joseph rides in triumph. Mounted on an impressively armoured horse, he wears a tri-form crown, and a bright red cloak over a blue tunic. Surrounded by a group of men who acclaim him and preceded by heralds and a musician, he raises his right hand in a version of the *Adventus* gesture.⁴⁰

A rather amusing depiction of Joseph's Triumph from an *Histoire Universelle* (Dijon MS 562, fol. 51^r), which is assigned by Hugo Buchthal to the scriptorium of Saint-Jean-d'Acre, presents the patriarch both on horseback and in the

Western style 'farm-cart' chariot. (Plate 4) Hugo Buchthal has shown that many of the *Histoire Universelle* manuscripts which emanate from the Holy Land during the Latin occupation combine both Western and Byzantine elements, particularly in the biblical sections of the histories.⁴¹ However, no other miniatures seem to present quite the same degree of fusion, or confusion, as this!

A moment from the coronation ceremony itself — the actual crowning — is another method of introducing imperial ritual which seems only to be found in Eastern depictions of the Joseph Triumph. In the ninth-century *Sacra Parallela* of St John of Damascus⁴² there is an image of Pharaoh actually placing the crown on Joseph's head, and the same iconography occurs in an ivory of the tenth or eleventh centuries formerly in Dresden.⁴³ A further instance of this ritualistic portrayal of the scene is found in the frescoes of the royal monastery at Sopočani. (Plate 5)⁴⁴ Joseph and Pharaoh stand beside the royal throne, before an impressive baldacchino-like structure, clad in richly embroidered garments. Pharaoh wears a rounded, jewel-studded crown with long, jewelled side-drops similar to that worn in portraits of royal figures such as the Serbian King Milutin.⁴⁵ Joseph inclines reverently forward as Pharaoh places a similar crown on his head.⁴⁶ A very similar portrayal appears in fol. 135 of the Serbian Psalter in Munich. In this miniature and the following one which illustrates the triumphant ride in the second chariot, the accompanying legends emphasize Joseph's kingship. Across the drapery which forms a baldacchino for the coronation scene appears the legend: "car₁ Io(sif₁)" the Church Slavonic term which corresponds to the Greek *basileus*. The same title appears beside Joseph in the Triumph scene.⁴⁷

Of course, the Byzantine coronation ceremony for an emperor required the patriarch to place the crown on the head of the new emperor. However, in the ceremony for the investiture of a co-emperor, which would have been appropriate to Joseph, the usual practice was for the existing emperor to crown his colleague. This was also the case for the coronation of a caesar, which may have been considered appropriate for Joseph, as he was actually second after Pharaoh. The relevant section of the *Book of Ceremonies* (Chapter 52) dates from the eighth century. At the high point of the ceremony, the emperor takes the crown from the patriarch, kisses it and has the caesar kiss it; "and immediately he makes the sign of the cross with the insignia on caesar's head, invoking the name of the Holy Trinity, and puts it on the head of the promoted caesar."⁴⁸

These examples of actual coronations of Joseph in Eastern art certainly support the idea of an infusion of contemporary Byzantine ritual in the illustration of his Triumph. But the image of Joseph on a quadriga, with its *Sol-invictus* implications, seems the most potent and suggestive method of inculcating the idea of imperial triumph into the Joseph story. The representation of a royal personage in a quadriga, generally presented frontally with the four horses galloping in a splayed formation toward the viewer, in a conscious adaptation of the *Sol*-charioteer figure, was a familiar image in Eastern imperial iconography.⁴⁹ It clearly has its reflections in the presentation of Joseph in Triumph.

The Greek Octateuchs of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries usually combine in one miniature both the giving of the ring and the Triumph scene of Joseph in the second chariot.⁵⁰ Although the chariot in the Octateuch examples is a biga, rather than a quadriga and the image is presented in profile view, there is a similarity with the *Sol-invictus* composition. In fact the illustration from Octateuch Vat. gr.746 (Plate 6), depicting the chariot with its upward tilt and

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Joseph pulling on the reins with his cloak flying in the breeze, bears some resemblance to the *Sol-invictus* figure on the arch of Constantine, which presents a similar profile view of the classical theme.⁵¹

There are, however, other more manifest uses of the *Sol-invictus* image in Eastern art. The only extant pre-iconoclastic monument which specifically illustrates the Triumph of Joseph is the seventh-century Ashburnham Pentateuch. This manuscript contains many suggestions of Jewish midrashic influence and while it has a Vulgate text, which points to a Western provenance, it is suggested by Gutmann and others that the model for its illustrations was Eastern, perhaps a Jewish model from the Syro-Palestinian region. The scene shows Joseph in a quadriga, driven by a charioteer. He is attended by two cursors with hands extended toward a group of people, some of whom kneel before the new ruler.⁵² The likely provenance of the model for the Ashburnham Pentateuch explains the use of an image familiar in Eastern imperial iconography.

Another instance of Joseph in a quadriga appears on an eleventh-twelfth century Byzantine ivory casket, now in Sens Cathedral Treasury, which is devoted to illustrations of David and Joseph.⁵³ André Grabar⁵⁴ has suggested that the origins of this unusual casket may be found in the Kingdom of Norman Sicily and argues that the combination of scenes from the lives of these two Old Testament characters indicates a desire to celebrate the idea of kingship. The life of Joseph is presented as a prelude to that of the imperial exemplar *par excellence*, King David, and the artist has chosen the image of Joseph which most patently expresses the idea of imperial triumph.

But one of the most intriguing representations of Joseph in the *Sol-invictus* role occurs in the Joseph cycle which appears on one folio of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus, a manuscript which was made for Basil I, in the last few years of his reign, between 880 and 886. (Plate 7)⁵⁵

The appearance of the Joseph cycle in this manuscript has so far been regarded as rather mysterious, as it bears no relation to any of the forty homilies included in the text. The cycle is an epitomized one and begins with the young Joseph setting out on his journey to Schechem to join his brothers, and continues through a very full description of Joseph being placed in the well, taken out, sold to the Ishmaelite merchants and taken to Egypt. Finally, in the fifth and last register, his sale to Potiphar is followed by the attempted seduction by Potiphar's wife and immediately afterwards by Pharaoh investing Joseph with the vestments of kingship. This scene does not follow the biblical narrative depicting Pharaoh presenting Joseph with the ring and chain of office, but shows Pharaoh attaching the chlamys to Joseph's shoulder. This agrees with the ritual for the promotion of a caesar as set out in the *Book of Ceremonies*.⁵⁶ In the final scene, Joseph appears in triumph on a quadriga in the traditional frontal format. Two figures prostrate themselves before the chariot in a posture made familiar by imperial monuments which present the vanquished paying homage.⁵⁷ Joseph is mounted on a red quadriga, pulled by grey horses. He is dressed in imperial purple and on his head he wears a crown of gold decorated with pearls and jewels. In his left hand he holds a globe, symbol of cosmic power, and in his right he holds aloft the imperial labarum.

The appearance of the labarum in Joseph's hand seems particularly significant, not only because of its obvious imperial connotations but because of Basil's use of this royal symbol elsewhere. In the opening folios of the manuscript, Basil himself

is depicted being crowned by the Archangel Gabriel and presented with the labarum by the Prophet Elijah.⁵⁸ A preliminary sketch for Basil's portrait miniature is visible on fol. 13^v and shows that originally the intent was to show both Gabriel and Elijah crowning the Emperor, and that the labarum presentation was a correction.⁵⁹ It is tempting to believe that this alteration was made at the request of the patron. Although the labarum was apparently reintroduced into coin iconography by the Amorian Theophilus, in Basil's reign its use seems to have increased; in fact in the coinage of the entire Macedonian period, the labarum is a fairly constant attribute carried by rulers.⁶⁰

Appearing in the same manuscript are other apparently incongruous illustrations which have imperial connotations, and, as Professor Der Nersessian has suggested, are clearly included because the manuscript was made for Basil. Some of these illustrations also have obvious associations with the labarum: in the final miniature of the manuscript, there are representations of Constantine's dream, the battle at Milvian Bridge with the sign of the Cross and the message "in this sign conquer" in the sky.⁶¹ The allusions to Basil's victories made under the sign of the cross and the imperial labarum are obvious, especially when connected with the image of the Emperor being presented with the labarum on the earlier folio.

Joseph's ultra-imperial presentation, therefore, and the inclusion of the labarum can be seen to be added in order to make the illustration more fitting for the imperial patron. But this does not explain the inclusion of a Joseph cycle in the manuscript; it merely explains something about the manner in which the Triumph is depicted.

It is therefore tempting to investigate the possibility that a conscious parallel of some kind was being made between Joseph and the Emperor Basil. There are certain similarities between the "facts" presented in Byzantine sources about the origins, early life and rise to power of Basil I and the *Genesis* narrative of Joseph's life. Each spent his youth in captivity and peregrinations and, through a combination of skill, physical charm and fortuitous connections, finally made it to the top. In addition, the patriarch and the emperor of the legends also had their future exalted status heralded by dreams and portents.⁶²

Unfortunately, the correlation is not supported by texts as is the case for the Sopočani narthex frescoes (see page 74), where the Joseph cycle can quite confidently be linked with mediaeval biographies of Prince Nemanja which constantly compare Joseph and Nemanja, establishing parallels between episodes in their lives.⁶³ Neither Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *Vita* of his grandfather nor Basil's son, Leo's, oration to his father draw any parallels at all between the two lives.⁶⁴ It is clear that without further supporting evidence no conclusions can be drawn from the somewhat nebulous parallels which appear on the surface.

However, it seems very likely that the explanation for the inclusion of a Joseph cycle in Basil's *Homilies* of Gregory lies in the status Joseph maintained in the Byzantine world as an imperial figure. Professor Der Nersessian has suggested that in this manuscript "the painter has followed the method generally used by Byzantine artists whenever they wanted to allude to the emperor while representing a biblical scene."⁶⁵ But the impetus for the inclusion of the cycle itself may be seen to be similar to that which governed the selection of Joseph's life for the decoration of the Sens ivory casket. As André Grabar has pointed out, in

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this case the cycle concludes with the Triumph of Joseph and should be seen as proclaiming a paradigm of princely life.⁶⁶

This manuscript terminates the cycle with the promotion of Joseph according to imperial ritual and his appearance in the *Sol-Invictus* quadriga. It omits several important events in the narrative between Joseph's encounter with Potiphar's wife and his elevation, including his imprisonment and his interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams, the direct cause of his rise to power. Clearly the presentation of the imperial scenes was more important to the artist than a lucid narration of the story.

The Joseph cycle in Basil's *Homilies* of Gregory should therefore be seen not merely as a cycle adapted with an eye to Byzantine imperial notions, but as an illustrated life included in an imperial manuscript because its protagonist was seen as an exemplar, a model *basileus*.

Joseph's reputation as *basileus* in Eastern literature from hymns and captions to romances and legends made him an excellent choice for the infusion of imperial propaganda into an Old Testament pictorial cycle.

Footnotes

1. The material for this paper arose from my study of illustrated cycles of the story of Joseph the Patriarch, on which I am preparing a doctoral thesis under the direction of Professor Margaret Manion, Department of Fine Arts, University of Melbourne.
2. Peter Chrysologus, *Sermon 146* (PL 52, col. 592). I have used M. Schapiro's translation in "The Joseph Scenes on the Maximianus Throne in Ravenna", *GBA*, 40 (1952), 28. Many scholars have treated the use of the typological implications of the Joseph story in patristic literature. For convenient summaries and lists of texts, see A. W. Argyle, "Joseph the Patriarch in Patristic Teaching", *The Expository Times* (1956), 199-201; P. Fabre, "Le développement de l'histoire de Joseph dans l'art au cours des douze premiers siècles", *MéiRom*, 39 (1921-22), 193-211.
3. G. Stričević, in *Byzantine Studies Conference: Abstracts of Papers* (Columbia University, New York, 1977), 28-30. Schapiro (*op.cit.*, 30 ff.) believes the Joseph panels are meant as a pendant to the Christological scenes on the cathedra, not only forming a typological parallel but also celebrating the bishop's role.
4. J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirklichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg, 1917), 202 ff., uses the seventeenth-century ornament to reconstruct the original mosaic programme of the fourth century. The basis for the suggestion that the baroque decoration follows the Constantinian plan is found in documentary evidence that the fourth-century decoration consisted of paralleled Old and New Testament scenes, beginning with Adam in Paradise and the Good Thief in Paradise, which are the two opening scenes of the baroque stucco programme. Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Interpretatio Synodi VII Generalis*, Actio 4 (PL, 129, col. 289): "Petrus, et Petrus Deo amabiles presbyteri et vicarii Adriani papae senioris Romae, dixerunt: 'Tale quid

et divae memoriae Constantinus Magnus imperator olim fecit: aedificato enim templo Salvatoris Romae, in duobus parietibus templi historias veteres et novas designavit, hinc Adam de paradiso exeuntem, et inde latronem in paradisum intrantem figurans' ”.

5. Helpidius Rusticus (PL 62, col. 545).

6. Walafrid Strabo, *Glossa ordinaria, Liber Genesis*, 37 (PL 113, cols. 164-82).

7. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, I, 117-20 (Douai, 1624; repr. Graz, 1965).

8. Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriae quaedam Scripturae sacrae; Quaestiones in Genesim*, 30 (PL 83, cols. 96 ff.).

9. J. Mabillon and M. Germain, *Musaeum Italicum*, I (Paris, 1687), *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*, 308.

10. For example, a window of Bourges Cathedral: see E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France* (Paris, 1910), 162, 188.

11. Philo, *On Joseph*, ed. and trans. F. H. Colson, Loeb Classical Library, VI (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), 157 and 271.

12. Schapiro, *op.cit.*, 29-33.

13. Ambrose, *De Josepha patriarcha*, 2 (PL, 14, col. 674); *De officiis ministrorum* I, 21; II, 6; II, 8-13 (PL, 16 cols. 56, 116-17, 122-7); Schapiro, *op.cit.*, 29.

14. Bodleian Library, Oxford, *MS Bodl.* 270b, fol. 28. A. de Laborde, *La Bible moralisée illustrée conservée à Oxford, Paris, et Londres*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1911-27).

15. F. Wickhoff and W. V. Hartel, *Die Wiener Genesis*, JbKSWien, Beilage 15-16 (Vienna, 1895), fol. XIII, 27 - fol. XXIII, 48.

16. C. Cecchelli, *La cattedra di Massimiano ed altri avorii romani-orientali* (Rome, 1936-40), 127 ff.; G. W. Morath, *Die Maximianskathedra in Ravenna*, *Freiburger theologische Studien* 54 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1940), 63 ff.

17. J. J. Tikkanen, "Die Genesismosaiken von San Marco in Venedig und ihr Verhältnis zu den Miniaturen der Cottonbibel", *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, 17 (Helsingfors, 1891). For later bibliography see K. Weitzmann, "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination, Past, Present and Future", in Weitzmann *et al.*, *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1975), 13, note 37.

18. In the San Marco mosaic, which depicts Joseph selling corn to the Egyptians, two large spherical objects appear on either side of the cushioned seat on which Joseph sits. These seem to indicate that he is depicted performing this function from Pharaoh's second chariot. Traces of similar spheres appear in Professor Tsuji's drawing of the corresponding fragment from the Cotton Genesis manuscript: S. Tsuji, "La chaire de Maximien, la Genèse de Cotton et les Mosaiques de Saint-Marc à Venise: à propos du cycle de Joseph," in *Synthronon: Recueil d'études dédié au Professeur André Grabar* (Paris, 1968), figs. 14 and 15.

19. E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1946), 56 ff.

20. A. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral* (New York, 1964), 28-9 and 226, note 13; for the poem in the Vivian Bible see MGH, *Poetae aevi*

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- Carolini, III (new ed., Berlin, 1964), 248.
21. J. Plummer and S.C. Cockerell, *Old Testament Miniatures: A Mediaeval Picture Book with 283 Paintings from the Creation to the Story of David* (Pierpont Morgan Library ms 638), (New York, n.d.), fol. 5^v.
22. E.g. Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Douce 48, fol. 18^v. The appropriate scene from a twelfth-thirteenth century sculptured plaque devoted to the life of Joseph in fifteen scenes, now in the S. Maria del Principio chapel, Santa Restituta, Naples, presents a rather different aspect. Joseph rides in a biga-like carriage, apparently drawn by one horse. The chariot is equipped with a high, cushioned seat which elevates Joseph to a more commanding position and above his head billows an arched drapery which forms a kind of baldacchino. He is greeted by one figure who emerges from a tall building before him, and another holding a banner aloft; two "cursors" precede him. My dissertation will investigate the relationship of this plaque to other monuments, in particular to the sculptures of the cloisters at Monreale and hence will explore possible infusions of Byzantine influence.
23. British Museum, Royal MS 2B VII, fol. 17^v.
24. Romanos, Kontakion 43, Εἰς τὸν Ἰωσήφ, I, ed. P. Maas and C.A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica: Cantica Genuina* (Oxford, 1968), 339-54.
25. Ἀκολασία τὸν νέον, *ibid.*, 354-67.
26. Ὁ Ἰακώβ ὠδύρευτο. Τριψίδιον, 377; K. Krumbacher, *Studien zu Romanos* (Munich, 1898), 217-18, attributes this kontakion to Romanos.
27. Τριψίδιον, *op.cit.*, Ὁ Ἰακώβ ὠδύρευτο, τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὴν στερήσιν, καὶ ὁ γενναῖος ἐκάθητο ἄρματι, ὡς βασιλεὺς τιμώμενος.
28. E.g., verse 18.8: βασιλέα . . . καὶ τροφέα and verse 22.5: ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς.
29. Verses 4 and 5: ἀλλ' εἰς θεὸν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα θέμενος, καὶ βασιλείας δι' αὐτοῦ στέφος ἐφόρεσε . . .
30. Jacob tells his son, verse 5.3: Φαντάζη παιδίον, βασιλεῦσαι πειρώμενος.
31. Verse 6.4-6: Καλῶς, φασιν, ἦλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς βᾶψωμεν αἵματι αὐτοῦ τὴν πορφυρίδα ἐγκαινίσει πρόκενσον . . .
32. Verse 11.1: Λαμπρότητος ἄγαλμα; verse 39.1: Ἐλαμψεν ὁ ἄναξ ὡς ἥλιος; cf. verse 39.7: Πόθεν μοι ἔλαμψας ἀπὸ γῆς ἢ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ . . .
33. Verse 10.1 and 2 . . . ὁ λογικὸς ἥλιος . . . ὅς . . . ἀνατέλλει . . . ὡς φῶς . . .
34. Corippus, *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris*, ed. and trans. Averil Cameron (London, 1976), Book II, pp. 137 ff.; translation, p. 97; commentary, pp. 148-63.
35. M. Philonenko, *Joseph et Asenath*, *Studia Post-Biblica* 13 (Leiden, 1968).
36. *Ibid.*, 147 ff.
37. G. Vikan, *Illustrated Manuscripts of Pseudo-Ephraem's "Life of Joseph" and the "Romance of Joseph and Aseneth"* (unpublished dissertation, Princeton, 1976).
38. A. Vasiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* (Moscow, 1893), 226. I am indebted to Professor Ihor Ševčenko for information about this text. For details of other versions of the *Palaea* which herald Joseph as *basileus*, see Professor Ševčenko's contribution to the text volume of the facsimile

publication of the Serbian Psalter (Munich, forthcoming), footnote to entry for Psalm 104. For other instances of reflections of the *Palaea* in Byzantine art, see R. Stichel, "Ausserkanonische Elemente in byzantinischen Illustrationen des Alten Testaments", *RQ*, 69 (1974), 159-81 and D. Flusser, "Palaea Historica: An Unknown Source of Biblical Legends," *Studia Hierosolymitana*, 22 (1971), 48-79.

39. For a discussion of the Adventus scene, its symbolic interpretation and its influence on Christian iconography see E. Kitzinger, "The Mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo", reprinted in *The Art of Byzantium and the Mediaeval West*, ed. W. E. Kleinbauer (Indiana University Press, 1976), 300 ff., with an earlier bibliography.

40. Other Hebrew manuscripts employing this motif include Nuremberg II Haggadah, fol. 37^r (Jerusalem, Schocken Library MS 24087); Yahuda Haggadah, fol. 36^r (Jerusalem, Bezalel National Museum MS 180/50); M. Metzger, *La Haggada Enluminée I* (Leiden, 1973), 240. A more abbreviated version appears in the frontispiece to the Schocken Bible: Jerusalem, Schocken Library MS 14840; B. Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (Jerusalem, 1969), pi. 31.

41. Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), 69, pl. 96a.

42. *Sacra parallela*, Paris MS gr. 923, fol. 12 (unpublished?).

43. A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I (Berlin, 1930), number 13, p. 28.

44. V. Djuric, *Sopočani* (Belgrade, 1963), 133.

45. D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting: The Last Phase* (New York, 1968), fig. 88: wall-painting from the Church of the Theotokos, Ljeviska, Macedonia, ca. 1309.

46. It seems very likely that the Joseph cycle at Sopočani was inspired by a wish to relate local dynastic rulers to the Joseph story. See R. Ljubinkovic, "Sur le symbolisme de l'histoire de Joseph du narthex de Sopočani", *L'art byzantin du XIII^e siècle, Symposium de Sopočani, 1965* (Belgrade, 1967), 207-37.

47. J. Strzygowski, *Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters* (Vienna, 1906), Taf. XXXIII, 76 and 77. Again I am indebted to Professor Ševčenko for his reading of these legends. See the Serbian Psalter facsimile (note 38 above). There may be a close connection between the crowning scene here (fols. 135 f.) and the *Palaea Historica* discussed above (p.73). In addition to placing the crown on Joseph's head, Pharaoh is depicted presenting a sword to the new *basileus*, a feature which complies with the Slavic version of the *Palaea* known as the *Tolkovaja Paleja*; see R. Stichel, *op.cit.*, 175-6, where it is assumed that this action in miniature and text reflects contemporary Slavic coronation rites. Professor Ševčenko however advises me that the practice seems to have been confined to later Russian ritual. He has suggested that the interpolation of this presentation of the sword may be explained by the confusion of the word ἄρμα, meaning "chariot", with the late Greek word ἄρμα, meaning "weapon" or "arms" See Ševčenko, *op.cit.*, entry for Psalm 104.21.

48. *Le Livre des Cérémonies II*, ed. A. Vogt (Paris, 1967), 28.

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49. H.P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo, 1953), esp. 142 ff.
50. Cod. Vat. gr. 746, fol. 125^r; Cod. Vat. gr. 747, fol. 61; Seraglio Octateuch, fol. 130^v: T. Ouspensky, *L'octateuque de la Bibliothèque du Serail à Constantinople* (Sofia, 1907), pl. XVII. 72; Smyrna Octateuch, fol. 53^v: D. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'octateuque grec de Smyrne* (Leiden, 1909), pl. 42, 130.
51. L'Orange, *op. cit.*, 150, fig. 107.
52. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cod. Nouv. Acq. Lat. 2334, fol. 40^r. O. von Gebhardt, *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (London, 1883), pl. XI; J. Gutmann, "The Jewish Origin of the Ashburnham Pentateuch Miniatures", *JQR*, 44 (1953), 55-72.
53. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, I, pll. LXXII-LXXV, p. 64, no. 124.
54. A. Grabar, "Les cycles d'images byzantins tirés de l'histoire biblique et leur symbolisme princier", *Starinar*, n.s. 20 (1969), 133-7.
55. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cod. Gr. 510, fol. 69^v; H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale, du VI^e au XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1929), pl. XXVI.
56. Ed. Vogt, II, 28.
57. A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), 54-7, 86-7, pl. XXIII.1.
58. Fol. CV; Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX.
59. S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris Gr. 510", *DOP*, 16 (1962), 198.
60. A. R. Bellinger and P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, III, 1 (Washington, 1973), pp. 134-8; III, 2, pp. 473-506.
61. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, 220, fig. 15.
62. A. Vogt, *Basile I^{er}* (Paris, 1908); N. Adontz, "L'age et l'origine de l'Empereur Basile I^{er}", *Byzantion*, 8 (1933), 475-500 and 9 (1934), 223-60.
63. Ljubinkovic, *op. cit.*
64. N. Adontz, "La portée historique de l'oraison funèbre de Basile I^{er} par son fils Léon VI le Sage", *Byzantion*, 8 (1933), 501-13.
65. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, 224.
66. Grabar, *op. cit.*, 137.

Anglo-Saxons and Icelanders at Byzantium

With special reference to the Icelandic Sage of
St. Edward the Confessor

Leslie Rogers

The paper as read at the Conference was in two main parts. The first consisted of a general survey of Icelandic references to Byzantium, about visits there by Norse heroes, and about their service in the Varangian Guard.¹ These Icelandic traditions raise, in acute form, some characteristic problems of Icelandic literature and history. To what extent are they fictional, to what extent do they reflect the facts of history? From the point of view of the Byzantine scholar, what additional information about Byzantine matters can the Icelandic stories provide?

The second part of the paper was concerned with the Icelandic saga of St. Edward the Confessor, or *Edward's saga* as I shall refer to it hereafter.² A particular interest of this saga is that it contains an account of an Anglo-Saxon migration to Byzantium after the Norman Conquest. Until lately no source for, or close analogue to, this story was known; but Dr. K.N. Ciggaar and Miss Christine Fell have demonstrated its resemblance to a previously unpublished section of a thirteenth-century chronicle from Laon in northern France, the *Chronicon Laudunense*. Consequently *Edward's saga* has recently attracted a good deal of scholarly attention.

The paper as now presented in revised form is again in two parts, but the first is much condensed, and the second expanded and corrected to incorporate material which was not to hand when the original paper was read.³

I

The most famous Norse Varangian of all was Haraldr Sigurðarson, or Harald Hardradi as he is often referred to in English sources, who was in Byzantium from about 1034 to 1043. He later became King of Norway, and met his death in battle against the English Harold at Stamford Bridge near York in 1066.

Harald Hardradi's doings in Byzantium are amply, indeed generously, recorded in Norse traditions in both prose and verse. Of the central fact of his presence and service there, there is no doubt. It is confirmed by a late eleventh-century Greek source, the *Book of Advice to an Emperor* attributed to Cecaumenos, where his name is given as *Araltes*. Various other details given place the identification beyond suspicion. His honours and rank — first *manglavites* or belt-wearer, then *spatharokandidates* or troop-leader — indicate however a lower place in Byzantine affairs than the developed Norse traditions assert.⁴ This may be due simply to a tendency for a Norse hero's deeds to develop in the telling, but it is also possible that the propaganda purpose of the *Book of Advice to an Emperor* would be better served by some depreciation of Harald's actual importance.

The best-known Icelandic prose account of Harald is that by the author Snorri Sturluson, *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar*, in his creative compilation of lives of the Kings of Norway, *Heimskringla*, written about 1225.⁵ Among Snorri's sources were earlier written collections of lives of the Kings of Norway, scaldic poems

about Harald (many of them contained in these collections), and oral stories circulating in Iceland. One oral informant specifically named in *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar*, and frequently mentioned in other stories, is Halldórr Snorrason, a distant relative of Snorri Sturluson. It is said that Halldórr had served with Harald Hardradi in Byzantium, and, on his return to Iceland, told stories about their adventures abroad. Other Icelanders learned these stories from him.⁶

It may be thought unlikely that such oral stories could have survived uncorrupted until they were written down almost two centuries later, and certainly many of the tales told about Harald in *Heimskringla* and other writings are fanciful; but oral tradition in Iceland was strong, and especially in families such as Snorri Sturluson's. Snorri's account of Harald's campaigning in Sicily is confirmed by the *Book of Advice to an Emperor*, at least in the essential fact of his participation; conversely, Snorri and other writers record the name of the commander of the Byzantine forces as *Gyrgir* or *Georgius*, that is, Georgios Maniakes, although they no doubt err in making Harald the dominant partner of the relationship. No doubt, too, the stories of how Harald took some Sicilian cities by various stratagems are fictional (see, for example, *Haralds saga*, chapters 6, 7 and 10). The story told in chapters 8 and 9, on the other hand, and said to have been brought to Iceland by Halldórr Snorrason, is less improbable than the others; moreover it has no obvious literary analogues as the others do. One cannot be sure, but the conclusion of chapter 9 may rest upon genuine family tradition: Halldórr foolishly reproaches Harald with lack of bravery, in words "spoken more in anger than in truth, for Harald was the bravest of warriors". In this battle Halldórr "got a deep gash in the face, which left an ugly scar for the rest of his life".

Similarly, the scaldic verses about Harald's exploits may deserve respect as historical sources. For example, one by the Icelandic scald Þjóðólfr Arnórsson describes Harald's part in the blinding of an emperor, presumably Michael V in 1042:

Stólþengils lét stinga
-styrjöld var þá byrjuð-
eyðir augun bæði
út heiðingja sútar;
lagði allvaldr Egða
austr á bragning hraustan
gráligt mark, en Girkja
gotu illa fór stillir.

The destroyer of the sorrow (hunger) of the heath-dweller (wolf)—i.e., one who feeds the wolf, the warrior (here Harald)—had both the eyes of the Emperor poked out; war began then; the sole ruler of the men of Agðir—i.e., the king of Norway—put a cruel mark on the bold prince in the east; the ruler of the Greeks suffered a cruel fate.⁷

Snorri's prose account in *Haralds saga* names this emperor as *Konstantínús Mónomákús*, but that is no reason to be suspicious of the verse (which does not name the emperor); nor can I follow Professor Gwyn Jones when he says "*Heimskringla*'s insistence that Harald personally gouged out the emperor's eyes is made suspect by its choice of Constantine Monomachus in the true victim's stead". The text of *Heimskringla* here is not substantially different from that of *Morkinskinna*, Snorri's chief written source; and what both texts mean, I think, despite Gwyn Jones' comment and the Penguin translation ("Harald himself blinded the Byzantine emperor") is that Harald (in Icelandic *Haraldr*, unambiguously

nominative) blinded, or caused to be blinded, the emperor (*Grikkja-konung*, unambiguously accusative) himself (*sjálfan*, again unambiguously accusative, and thus referring, not to *Haraldr*, but to *Grikkja-konung*).⁸ The main point of interest to both the author of *Monkskinna* and to Snorri was that it was the emperor *himself*, not some other distinguished man, who was blinded. Both authors go on to allay any doubts that might arise by insisting that other scaldic verses record the same fact, Snorri adding that Harald himself and others who had been abroad with him (including presumably Halldórr) brought back this story. The verse quoted above, which has greater authority than the prose accounts in which it is now embedded, may or may not mean that Harald did the blinding himself. There seem, therefore, no good grounds for suspecting the authenticity of the verse; and of course if we did reject the verse we should be left with no explanation other than oral tradition for survival of the knowledge in Iceland that an emperor was blinded.⁹

The example of Harald demonstrates that, while Norse traditions about Byzantium undoubtedly contain much fiction, and while they must be treated with caution as historical sources, they may contain kernels of valuable truth.

II

The possibility that the Icelandic *Edward's saga* contains an account of an Anglo-Saxon migration to Byzantium with some basis of fact has been much discussed in recent years, especially since Dr. Ciggaar's discovery of a previously unpublished section of the *Chronicon Laudunense*, which provides a close analogue to the Icelandic account.¹⁰ Her discovery is, first and foremost, welcome proof that the author or compiler of the Icelandic saga did not invent the story.

The relationship between the saga and the *Chronicon* has been examined by Miss Christine Fell in a series of three articles about the saga and its sources.¹¹ Miss Fell's main conclusions are that the Icelandic saga was a fourteenth-century compilation; that its hagiographical material was derived from "a service book containing the lections for St. Edward's day and the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais"; and that its historical and quasi-historical material was derived from the *Chronicon Laudunense* and from Icelandic sagas of the Norse kings, especially *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar* in *Heimskringla*.

All this may well be right, though it should be noted first that the question of the date of *Edward's saga* is crucial: for example, as Miss Fell herself remarks, the *Speculum Historiale* "could scarcely have reached Iceland much before the thirteenth century", so that it would be decidedly inconvenient if *Edward's saga* was in fact written much earlier than ca. 1300.¹² Not that Miss Fell is alone in placing the composition of *Edward's saga* in the fourteenth century; on the contrary.¹³ The point however is that the best arguments now advanced for dating the saga so late are derived from its presumed sources and analogues, and an alternative explanation of them could require an alternative date of composition. It is, incidentally, not necessarily significant that the two main manuscripts of the saga are fourteenth-century: other texts in the same manuscripts are undoubtedly early.¹⁴

Both *Edward's saga* and the *Chronicon* tell the story of how, after the Norman Conquest, there was a substantial migration of Englishmen discontented with William's rule to Byzantium. The saga and the chronicle

“have in common many details shared by no other text. Both of them specify the ranks of the leaders involved, the number of earls and barons who emigrated and the number of ships which they took. The journey through the Mediterranean with stopping-places at Septem on the North African coast and at Majorca and Minorca is described in both but not elsewhere. The arrival in Byzantium and the honour accorded to the emigrants by Alexius is confirmed by Ordericus [Vitalis] and by the Byzantine evidence, but the final passage, concerning the English emigrants’ voyage six days’ sailing distance across the Black Sea to a land which they called New England and in which they gave their settlements the names of English towns, is found only in this chronicle and saga. A rejection of Greek Orthodoxy in favour of the Latin rites of the Hungarian church is also found in both texts. In addition the general order and grouping of material follows the same pattern in both.

But though there is this close correspondence in the general outline of material that is found in no other source, especially in the New England section, there is not a close textual resemblance”.¹⁵

It must be readily agreed that the accounts of *Edward’s saga* and of the *Chronicon* are related to each other in some way; but in what way, precisely? Perhaps because the discovery of the relevant section of the *Chronicon* was relatively recent, Miss Fell seems to have become more uncertain as her series of three articles progressed. In *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3 (1974), 181, there “can be no doubt that the account of the Anglo-Saxon emigration” in the saga “is based on the one in this chronicle”. Later, however, after numerous differences between the two accounts have been noted, it “is more likely that the saga writer had in front of him an earlier, less muddled, possibly shorter, text than the present recension of the *Chronicon*” (*ibid.*, 189).

Again, the possibility that

“both *Chronicon* and saga versions of the emigration derive independently from another source altogether is ruled out by the close correspondence between other stories shared by the two, though it is true that these all occur in the same section of the *Chronicon*. We must assume, in fact, that the saga’s source was, if not a recension of the whole work, at any rate a fairly large piece of historical writing subsequently incorporated into the *Chronicon* wholesale.

I think, however, that we are also entitled to conclude that the recension from which [the saga] derives was not particularly close to the one in the extant manuscripts of the *Chronicon*”.¹⁶

A similar conclusion is re-stated in Miss Fell’s third article. There are now only two known manuscripts of the *Chronicon*, but it is clear that “another must have reached Iceland”. Yet the possibility “that the text known to the Icelandic translators was a predecessor or a part of the chronicle as it now stands” cannot be eliminated.¹⁷

This is dangerous ground, in an age in which the writing of saints’ lives, kings’ lives, and universal chronicles proliferated, when writers borrowed so freely one from another, so that it is now often difficult, even in the most favourable circumstances, to trace the affiliations of works one with another. It should hardly be necessary to remind medievalists of the truism that an analogue, however close, is not inevitably a source. In this particular instance, the circumstances are quite

unfavourable. As already noted, the dating of the composition of *Edward's saga* is not completely certain. Miss Fell's account of its compilation from various sources and her concurrence in a late date of composition are mutually interdependent; moreover, the theory of compilation, although perfectly plausible and indeed skilfully supported by the evidence, may win acceptance, but does not compel it.

Another major area of uncertainty is the *Chronicon universale anonymi Laudunensis* itself. It extends to the year 1219, and its two surviving manuscripts date from the beginning of the thirteenth century. According to Dr. Ciggaar, the Paris manuscript, BN Lat. 5011, is a copy of the other, Phillipps 1880, now in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.¹⁸ It seems that the *Chronicon* was compiled at Laon by an English monk of the Premonstratensian order; and Miss Fell notes a number of points in the *Chronicon* which suggest a vernacular (i.e. English) origin for some of the material.¹⁹ The question that springs to mind is, what then were the sources used by this English monk of Laon in compiling the *Chronicon*? Further, could these sources, or one of them, have been used by the author or compiler of the Icelandic *Edward's saga*? Unfortunately, systematic work on the sources of the *Chronicon* remains to be done, and the text as a whole remains unedited.²⁰ It can hardly be said, therefore, that the invaluable service rendered by Dr. Ciggaar and Miss Fell in bringing the relevant sections of the *Chronicon* to light and comparing them with *Edward's saga* has yet solved the problem of the saga's sources, although it has done a great deal to illuminate and define it, and to indicate ways in which progress may be made towards a solution.²¹

Miss Fell is confident throughout that the Icelandic compiler of *Edward's saga* had a Latin version of the *Chronicon*, or something very like it, and more generally rejects a suggestion I made more than twenty years ago that a French or Anglo-Norman source might have figured somewhere in the development of the source-material. I was led to make this suggestion partly by the presence in *Edward's saga* of loan-words in apparently French form (e.g. the name for Westminster in Icelandic *Vestmyst*, *Vestmust*; *amía*, "lover"; *morsel*, "morsel") and partly by the contents of the saga,

"for example the story about how William wooed and won Matilda, and the story about the English migration to Byzantium. There is a very close analogue to the former tale in the *Chronicon Sancti Martini Turonensis*. No close analogue to the latter has been found, but evidently a similar tradition was known to the Anglo-Norman Ordericus Vitalis. Such stories as these two might be expected in a compendious French or Anglo-Norman chronicle; such a chronicle might also contain extracts from a Life of St. Edward — A[ilred's], in all likelihood.... There is nothing intrinsically improbable in the proposed French source.... Indeed it is not impossible that the source may exist somewhere today, unpublished and neglected. A truly enormous amount of medieval literature of this kind is still not printed".²²

I took no account at the time of the existence of the *Chronicon Laudunense*, a Latin work written in northern France by an English monk; nor did I know that both the stories referred to above are in the *Chronicon* in distinctive form. Perhaps the full text of the *Chronicon*, which is not at present available to me, will help to explain, not only the contents of *Edward's saga*, but some of its apparently French

phraseology. Miss Fell, who seems to have misunderstood the nature of my suggestions in the first place,²³ derives the *amía* of *Edward's saga* from the Latin *amicam* of the corresponding passage of the *Chronicon* rather than from the French word, and does not comment on the presence in *Edward's saga* of the word *morsel* in the account of Earl Godwine's death (although she does in that connexion note the very interesting parallel between the 'Lávarðr biskup, bleza þú' of *Edward's saga* and the "Lauerth biscop bleze. hoc est. domine episcopo benedic" of the *Chronicon*).²⁴

As the relationship between *Edward's saga* and the *Chronicon* remains to some extent problematical, so, it seems to me, does the bearing of the *Chronicon* upon the interests of Byzantine historians. Apparently neither *Edward's saga* (a fourteenth-century Icelandic compilation, in which the account of an Anglo-Saxon migration to Byzantium derives from the *Chronicon*) nor the *Chronicon* itself (a thirteenth-century compilation from largely unidentified sources) can be accorded the status of a primary historical source — if we believed half we read in such sources about the Norman Conquest, for example, we should end up with some strange ideas. If Miss Fell is right, the only historical (as distinct from literary or cultural) value of *Edward's saga* is that it may represent a version of the *Chronicon* "more competent" than that now extant in the Paris and Berlin manuscripts.²⁵ This, we may agree, is no reason to deride the work of the Icelandic compiler, who was, in medieval terms, a sober and restrained scholar; but it is no reason either to overlook the probable historical deficiencies of universal chronicles assembled from diverse sources a century or more after the supposed event, and in one of the most productive periods of compendious chronicle writing that Western Europe has ever seen. Perhaps there was a New England on the shores of the Black Sea, but the hard evidence for it will not be found in the versions of the *Chronicon Laudunense* we now have, nor in the Icelandic *Edward's saga*.²⁶

The possibility that the saga was written earlier than the fourteenth century, even *ca.* 1200, cannot yet be absolutely ruled out, though Miss Fell's researches favour a later date; but there still could be no doubt that its sources were written, and foreign, at least for its account of the Anglo-Saxon migration to Byzantium. The material it offers the historian would thus remain different in kind from that with which this paper began. The saga of Harald Hadradi has, at its heart, genuine and contemporary oral traditions, more or less faithfully transmitted, and especially in scaldic verse, so that some part of it, however small, is of primary historical value. Nothing of the same sort can, or could, be claimed for the Icelandic saga of St. Edward the Confessor.

Footnotes

1. On the Varangians, see e.g. *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, Bd. 19 (Copenhagen, 1975), *s.v.* *Varjager* and references there. An English edition, revised, of Sigfús Blöndal, *Væringjasaga* (Reykjavík, 1954), translated by S. Benediktz (Cambridge, 1978), may

already have appeared, but I have not seen it. Many references to the Varangians, both Norse and English, will be conveniently found in Jonathan Shepard, "The English and Byzantium: a Study of their Role in the Byzantine Army in the Later Eleventh Century", *Traditio*, 29

(1973), 53-92, and in Constance Head, "Alexios Komnenos and the English", *Byzantion*, 47 (1977), 186-98.

2. *Saga Játvarðar konungs hins helga*, in *Icelandic Sagas I*, ed. Gudbrand Vigfusson, Rolls Series (1887-94), 388-400; English translation in III, 416-28; also edited by C. C. Rafn and Jon Sigurdsson in *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (Copenhagen, 1852), 3-43. Facsimiles of the two main manuscripts, which are both of the fourteenth century, will be found in *Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi*, I and XIX (Copenhagen, 1930 and 1950 respectively).

3. In preparing this amended version I was helped by Dr. Ciggaar, who kindly sent me a copy of her doctoral thesis, *Byzance et l'Angleterre* (Leiden, 1976), and by Mrs Mary Jane Hogan, Research Assistant in the Department of English of the University of Sydney.

4. *Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regis libelli*, ed. V. Vasilievsky and V. Jernstedt (St. Petersburg, 1896; reprinted Amsterdam, 1965), 97.

5. Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla III*, ed. Bjarni Aðalbarnarson, Íslenzk Fornrit, 38 (Reykjavik, 1951); Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, *King Harald's Saga* (London, 1966; Penguin Classics).

6. On Halldórr see especially *Halldórs þættir Snorrasonar*, Íslenzk Fornrit, 5 (Reykjavik, 1935), 250-77 and *Þorsteins þáttur sögufróða*, Íslenzk Fornrit, 11 (Reykjavik, 1950), 334-6.

7. Text and translation mainly from E. O. G. Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry* (Oxford, 1976), 98-9; cf. *Heimskringla*, III, 86-7, and *King Harald's Saga*, 62.

8. Gwyn Jones, *A History of the Vikings* (Oxford, 1968), 405, note 1; *King Harald's Saga*, 62; but in *Heimskringla*, III, 87:

Í þessum tveim drápum Haralds ok mǫrgum öðrum kvæðum hans er getit þess, at Haraldr blindaði sjálfan Grikkjakonung. Nefna mætti þeir til þess hertoga eða greifa eða annars konar tignar menn, ef þeir vissi, at þat væri sannara, því at sjálfr Haraldr flutti þessa sögn ok þeir menn aðrir, er þar váru með honum.

Cf. in *Morkinskinna*, ed. C. R. Unger (Christiania, 1867, the only edition immediately available to me), 14:

J þessom .ii. drapom Harallz oc mǫrgvm öðrom hans qveþum er getit þessa storvirkis. oc eigi þarf orð at gera hia því at sialfan Griccia konung blindaði hann. iafnvel metti nefna til þess greifa einnhvern eþa hertoga ef þat þótti sannara. en i ollom queþom Harallz konvngs segir þetta eina lund.

9. The general question of the authenticity of scaldic verses was touched upon, but not pursued, because scaldic poetry was to be the theme of a later Canberra conference. Briefly, however, a reason for trusting scaldic verse is provided by the extremely strict complexity of its form. For further discussion, see Turville-Petre, *op. cit.*, lxxvi-lxxiv.

10. Krijna Nelly Ciggaar, *Byzance et l'Angleterre* (doctoral thesis, Leiden, 1976), 20-71; *eadem*, "L'émigration anglaise à Byzance après 1066", *REB*, 32 (1974), 303-42.

11. "The Icelandic Saga of Edward the Confessor: the hagiographic sources", *ASE*, 1 (1972), 247-58; "The Icelandic Saga of Edward the Confessor: its version of the Anglo-Saxon emigration to Byzantium",

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- ASE, 3 (1974), 179-96; "English History and Norman Legend in the Icelandic Saga of Edward the Confessor", ASE, 6 (1977), 223-36.
12. ASE, 1 (1972), 258.
13. E.g. Rafn and Sigurdsson in their edition already referred to dated it in the fourteenth century, but not later than 1350; Finnur Jónsson in *Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, II (2nd ed., Copenhagen, 1923), 875-6, dated it ca. 1300. The saga itself makes reference to the opinion of Gizurr Hallsson, a notably learned Icelandic who died in 1206, but scholars generally have been reluctant to accept so early a date. Miss Christine Fell seems to accept that Gizurr may have had a part in preparing material later used by the (presumed) fourteenth-century compiler (ASE, 1 [1972], 256-7).
14. E.g. *Jóns saga* was written by Gunnlaugr Leifsson, of the Benedictine monastery of Þingeyrar, soon after 1201.
15. Christine Fell, ASE, 3 (1974), 181; on the rejection of Greek orthodoxy, see *eadem*, "A Note on Pálsbók", *Medieval Scandinavia*, 6 (1973), 102-8. Readers of the latter may wonder whether the hypothesis of translation from the *Chronicon Laudunense* is not here somewhat strained.
16. ASE, 3 (1974), 189-90.
17. ASE, 6 (1977), 235.
18. *Byzance et l'Angleterre*, 20; REB, 32 (1974), 301-2; Christine Fell, ASE, 3 (1974), 190.
19. ASE, 6 (1977), 235.
20. K. N. Ciggaar, *Byzance et l'Angleterre*, 21; REB, 32 (1974), 303-4.
21. For example, the concluding sentence to Miss Fell's series of articles, suggesting that we might now look for further evidence of the dissemination of the *Chronicon Laudunense* in Icelandic writings.
22. H. L. Rogers, "An Icelandic Life of St. Edward the Confessor", *SBVS*, 14.4 (1956-7), 249-72, especially 259-60.
23. Miss Fell (ASE, 3 [1974], 248) attributes to me a theory which was put forward, but with many qualifications, and which was clearly characterized as "conjecture" (*SBVS*, 14.4 [1956-7] 271). Disproof of this theory, claimed by Miss Fell in ASE, 3 (1974), 249-50, by reference to *known* French versions (to which I also referred, *SBVS*, 14.4 (1956-7), 255 and note 15, 256 and note 19) is simply not possible, for the "conjecture" related to admittedly unknown sources: see the quotation above, p. 86.
24. ASE, 6 (1977), 228.
25. ASE, 3 (1974), 196.
26. Jonathan Shepard, "Another New England?—Anglo-Saxon Settlement on the Black Sea", *BS*, 1 (1974), 18-39.

Literary Evidence for the Dating of the Bačkovovo Ossuary Frescoes¹

Sasha Grishin

The “ktitor’s typicon” for the monastery dedicated to the “Mother of God of Petritzos” (near the present day Bulgarian village of Bačkovovo) has not survived in its original form. The extant MSS are later copies, probably not earlier than the thirteenth century and disagree on several crucial details concerning the nationality of the founders Gregory and Apasios Pakurianoι (Bakurianis-dse).² They are, however, unanimous on all points of detail concerning the establishment and administration of the monastery. Any attempt to date the building of the ossuary must begin by asking whether this ossuary can be identified with any of the buildings mentioned in the typicon.

The physical description of the monastery and the mention of the component buildings offered in the typicon are laconic and somewhat confusing. If we omit such buildings as the three hostels (ξενοδοχεῖα) for travellers, the seminary and the other buildings which are clearly located outside the monastery, the following picture of the monastic structures emerges. The centre of the complex was occupied by “three churches” dedicated to the Virgin, (τῆ ὑπερευλογημένη μητρὶ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν τῆ ἀειπαρθένῳ Μαρίᾳ), to John the Baptist and Saint George.³ Some monastic cells were constructed⁴ and there was an outer wall.⁵ There is no specific mention of a refectory, kitchen or library, but their existence is implied in several places in the typicon.⁶ There is also mention of a tomb containing the body of Apasios Pakurianos.⁷ The entire monastery was built in a field (ἀγρός) at a place called Ἰάννωβα.⁸

The ossuary as it exists today, is a separate two-storey structure found some 400 metres outside the present monastic walls (Plate 8). At each level at the eastern end is a semi-circular apse; the lower contains a Deesis, the upper, an enthroned Madonna and Child between two standing archangels. Is this building one of the three churches or a possible place for the tomb of the founders? Since the typicon specifies the Koimesis as the principal feast of the monastery, critics have been unanimous in identifying the catholicon as dedicated to this feast.⁹ Petit¹⁰ and Ivanov¹¹ mention a principal church of the “Assumption” and two minor churches dedicated to John the Baptist and Saint George. The ossuary has been identified as one of these minor churches and the choice fell on Saint George.¹²

While the typicon mentions three churches and specifies their individual dedications¹³, in other places it speaks of the monastery with its one church.¹⁴ In chapter 1.3 the three churches are referred to as one building for the honour and glory of the Virgin, John the Baptist and Saint George.¹⁵ The Chios Georgian MS of the typicon is even more specific. It refers to the building of the three churches as a cathedral to the glory of God.¹⁶ This distinction is made even more apparent in the chapter on the illumination of the church. Icon lamps were to be lit near the main altar, in front of the icon of John the Baptist at the doors to his chapel and near the icon of Saint George.¹⁷ Chapter 27 specifically mentions the chapel of John the Baptist. A priest was to be appointed ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τοῦ ἀγίου

βαπτιστοῦ.¹⁸ From this it appears that the catholicon was built as a single building with a main altar dedicated to the Virgin and two chapels with separate altars dedicated to John the Baptist and Saint George.

The archaeological evidence from the 1955 excavations of Bačkovo supports this conclusion. The foundations of only one church were discovered (directly underneath the present catholicon) with evidence for three separate apses: a main apse at the east end and separate apses on the lateral sides.¹⁹ The principle of multiple dedications and separate altars within a single church is found in other examples such as Constantine Lips and Skripou.²⁰ In the ossuary crypt, on a blocked-in arch on the north wall of the narthex is a fourteenth century depiction of the Pakurianoι holding a model of a single domed church with two side chapels. Could this be a depiction of their church of the Koimesis, with its chapels of John the Baptist and Saint George?

Petit does not identify the tomb mentioned in the typicon with any surviving building. Ivanov mentions the existing ossuary but is uncertain of its date and regards all the frescoes as belonging to the fourteenth century. He does not associate the ossuary with the tomb in the typicon and mentions that Apasios' remains were brought into the monastery.²¹ André Grabar, who visited Bačkovo in 1920, mentions the ossuary and identifies it with the one described in the typicon as containing the tomb of the founders.²² Other scholars followed his example.²³ Recently this position was challenged. It was argued that the tomb of the founder, following the tradition of Byzantine family tombs, was placed within the main church and the ossuary was built for the remains of the monks at some later unknown date.²⁴

The typicon is not specific about the location of the founder's tomb. This is despite the fact that the establishment of the monastery seems to have been spurred on by the thought of creating a final "resting place" that would aid in the deliverance of the patron's soul. Pakurianos states this in the introduction to his typicon:

"... the founder of this most blessed, newly built monastery and ossuary for my resting place ... set up for my succour, redemption and deliverance and also for that of my own blessed brother the *magistros* Apasios".²⁵

The setting up of a monastery with these pious thoughts in mind, was commonplace in the royal and upper circles of Byzantine society. In typica there appears to be a distinction drawn between the tomb for the founder and the ossuary for the monks. Normally the words τάφος or τύμβος refer to the tomb of the patron, while κοιμητήριον is used for that of the monks. In the Pantocrator monastery (Zeyrek Camii) typicon (1136) it is mentioned that between the two major churches was built a small church to serve as the royal family tomb ὀνόματι τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἡμῶν τεθῆναι διετυπώσαμεν. The κοιμητήριον, for the non-royalty who died in the monastic hospital and for the monks, was built in the monastery opposite, that of Midikarios.²⁷ The typicon of the monastery of the Kosmosotira (1152) again draws the distinction between the main τύμβος, its decoration and days of commemoration, and the monks who were to be buried outside the walls.²⁸ The typicon of the Euergetis monastery (eleventh century), mentions a κοιμητήριον for the monks outside τῶν βασιλικῶν πυλῶν and specifies the rites for the burial of the monks.²⁹ The typicon of the monastery of Our Lady τῆς βεβαίας ἐλπίδος

likewise associates the κοιμητήριον with the burial of monks and not the patrons.³⁰ Two conclusions can be drawn from the typica in relation to burials. Firstly, the typica are primarily concerned with the tombs of the patrons and members of their families and these were placed either in the main monastic church or in a special mausoleum church. Secondly, if the burial of the monks is mentioned, it is largely in relation to the proper burial rites and they were to be buried in a humble κοιμητήριον away from the main church and often outside the monastic enclosure.

The typicon of Gregory Pakurianos on the burial of monks is laconic indeed. The deceased monk is to be buried with prayers and song as prescribed by rite and must be commemorated on the third, ninth and fortieth days after death and after one year.³¹ On the death of an abbot, several other commemorative services are added, but similarly there is no mention of the place of burial.³² The burial and commemoration of the founders is one of the favourite themes of the typicon. The necessity to commemorate Gregory and his brother is mentioned throughout the text and there is one lengthy chapter devoted specifically to this question.³³ However the exact nature and location of the tomb is more difficult to ascertain. The tomb is referred to by three names τάφος, τύμβος, and κοιμητήριον. The first is used in terms of a tomb in general in the will of Apasios, where he writes of his wish to be buried in the place where his brother builds his monastery, church and tomb:

ἐνθα ἂν θηλήσῃ ὁ αὐταδελφός μου ὁ Γρηγόριος κτίσαι ἐκκλησίαν καὶ μοναστήριον αὐτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τάφον ἐν ᾧ τεθήσεται ἐκεῖσε κἀμοῦ τὸ σῶμα ταφήτω.³⁴

The second word for tomb is τύμβος and is used in the meaning of a coffin or sarcophagus and it was this which was to be placed in the κοιμητήριον or burial house:

ἀγαγόντες τὸν τύμβον τοῦ σκηνώματος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἐκκλησίαν ἡμῶν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῇ μονῇ, καὶ ἐν τῷ κοιμητηρίῳ ἡμῶν.³⁵

The Georgian MS is slightly more specific for our purposes — the coffin with Apasios' body was brought to the monastery and was buried in the cemetery church.³⁶ In several places in the typicon it is apparent that the main church with its three altars cannot be identified as the place in which the κοιμητήριον is built. For example, wealth is left for the monastery with its church and for the κοιμητήριον:

ἡμῶν μοναστήριον καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ εἰς ὃ τέθαπται κοιμητήριον ὑπὲρ ψυχικῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας.

The question remains whether this funerary church was built within the monastic walls as in the case of the Pantocrator monastery in Constantinople, or whether it followed the tradition outlined in those typica where the κοιμητήριον was usually built outside the monastic enclosure.³⁸ In the first chapter of his typicon, where Gregory speaks of the intended form of his monastery, he mentions building his tomb in the resting place for monks, away from the main church.³⁹ The surviving ossuary fits the requirements outlined in the typicon. In the crypt below are fourteen floor tombs for the bones of the monks; in the church

of the upper storey are two wall tombs. There exists no archaeological evidence suggesting an alternative conclusion. The tomb mentioned in the typicon can be identified with the exquisitely constructed and decorated ossuary.

The typicon was completed and signed in December 6592 (*A.D.* 1083) and countersigned by the Jerusalem patriarch Euthymius who visited Gregory at his Philippopolis estates.⁴⁰ It states that the ossuary had been already built and, after its completion, the body of Gregory's brother Apasios was transferred and buried there.⁴¹ It appears likely that the fresco decorations had been completed before Apasios was buried; hence the original layer of fresco cannot be dated later than 1083. The *terminus post quem* is more difficult to establish. Although there is some doubt whether Gregory founded or re-founded the monastery,⁴² the ossuary is specifically mentioned in the typicon as being built by Gregory.⁴³

The building of the Bačkovo monastery occurred at a late stage in Gregory's brilliant career.⁴⁴ He had been transferred from the East to serve in the West⁴⁵ when he was already in his old age.⁴⁶ Gregory had previously received estates in the area of Philippopolis under Nicephorus III Botaneiates (1078-81)⁴⁷ and possibly the area of Iannova was one of these. The monastery could not have been commenced before the death of Gregory's brother Apasios. The typicon quotes Apasios' will, in which he says that he wishes to be buried wherever Gregory builds his monastery, but if he does not build it, his wealth should be donated to the church where he is buried.⁴⁸ Gregory and Apasios together made a donation to the Iviron monastery on Athos in 1074⁴⁹ and consequently it is unlikely that work upon the Bačkovo monastery had commenced before that. A search for a suitable pause in Gregory's military career in which the building of the monastery could have taken place, attempted by some scholars,⁵⁰ is not a particularly fruitful exercise. The supervision of the building of the monastery was entrusted by Pakurianos to a monk, Gregory Vanskos,⁵¹ and therefore the presence of the founder was neither required nor likely.

In the upper storey of the ossuary, on the west wall of the church naos (beneath the Koimesis), are depicted six life-size standing saints with scrolls. One of these is identified by its inscription as Saint George the Hagiorite (1009-65) a Georgian abbot at Iviron (Plate 9). His disciple, Giorgi the Little, wrote his life *ca.* 1070. Saint George's name is first met in his role as a saint in a Georgian menologium of 1074.⁵² Once again the evidence confirms the dating of the construction of the monastery as not earlier than 1074 and its completion as not later than 1083. The fresco decorations of the ossuary would have been executed most likely towards the end of this period.

To date this monument, André Grabar points to an inscription found in the narthex of the crypt, below the composition of the Bosom of Abraham, δέη(σις) τοῦ δούλου [τοῦ Θεοῦ κυ]ρ[οῦ] Νεοφύτου ἡερομονάχου (Plate 10).⁵³ He then refers to a sixteenth century "memorial" (Bead roll) which is divided into the categories of donors, bishops, hieromonks, fathers, monks and laymen. Under the hieromonks there is only one Neophytos listed and his name appears fifth from the top. Keeping in mind that the monastery was founded in 1083, the life span of five hieromonks places Neophytos at least in the middle of the twelfth century. Grabar concludes that Neophytos was the patron for the frescoes of the crypt and hence the earliest layer of fresco at the Bačkovo ossuary dates from the middle of the twelfth century.⁵⁴ This documentary dating has not been challenged. It rests, however, on shaky foundations.

The Bead roll of the Bačkovno monastery library is catalogued as *MS gr. 50*⁵⁵ and dates from the end of the sixteenth century or possibly the beginning of the seventeenth century, with several additions from the eighteenth century and blank pages for future entries. In the list of hieromonks, as Grabar noted, only one Neophytos is recorded and, as far as can be established, the list is in chronological order. However, a glance at Neophytos's neighbours reveals the following time sequence. Two names before that of Neophytos is the entry of Matthew Ματθαίου ἱερομ(ο)ν(ά)χου who is mentioned as a donor in an inscription of 1601.⁵⁶ Immediately before Neophytos is the name of the hieromonk Parthenios, Παρθενίου ἱερομ(ο)ν(ά)χου, who is also mentioned in the refectory under the year of 1604, in one inscription in the church of the Holy Trinity (1643) and as a donor in *MS gr. 82* under the year 1639.⁵⁷ Then comes our Neophytos, Νεοφύτου ἱερομονάχου, of whom we know nothing; he is followed by Anthony, Ἀντωνίου ἱερομ(ο)ν(ά)χου, who is mentioned in *MS gr. 58*, dated 1663, as the hieromonk at this time.⁵⁸ From this it is quite apparent that this part of the commemorative list dates from the seventeenth century and not from the twelfth century as Grabar assumed. Another Bead roll of the mid-seventeenth century, *MS gr. 143*,⁵⁹ has a slightly different order in some names and Neophytos is omitted from it. The only safe conclusion that can be reached is that the name of Neophytos occurring in the fresco inscription does not provide any guidance to the dating of the frescoes themselves.

In 1932 Gošev published an important inscription (Plate 11) which he discovered in the narthex of the crypt, directly above Grabar's Neophytos inscription. It reads:

+“The upper and lower parts of this most holy church were decorated (or redecorated) by the hand of the painter John Iviropoulos. And you who read this pray for me through the Lord”.⁶⁰

It differs in character from the Neophytos inscription in several important aspects. While the former is a type of graffito, roughly painted on top of a frescoed surface in small letters, the Iviropoulos inscription is carefully placed within an arch, superimposed on a band of floral ornament, overlooking the entrance into the naos. While the Neophytos inscription does not specify any part of the ossuary and may refer to the single scene, the Iviropoulos inscription claims responsibility for both the upper and lower parts of the church. However, for the dating of the monument the inscription does not provide any firm additional information. Gošev claims a palaeographical similarity between the Iviropoulos and Neophytos inscriptions and dates the former to the twelfth century (citing Grabar). He argues that the use of ἄνω, κάτω and ἀναγινώσκοντες instead of ἄνω, κάτω and ἀναγινώσκοντες suggests a non-Greek origin for the artist. Gošev also leaves the question open as to whether the artist could be identified with John Petritzos, who may have lived at the monastery in the eleventh or twelfth centuries.⁶¹ Several objections may be raised to this view.

The use of curved breathings, in one instance the \mathcal{A} form for the alpha and the general complexity of the abbreviations are not otherwise encountered in the names of saints, feasts and inscriptions on scrolls belonging to the 1074-83 layer. Bearing in mind that the Iviropoulos inscription is superimposed on a separate band of painted ornament, the question arises whether Iviropoulos was indeed the major painter of the ossuary decorations. Perhaps he could be identified with a

twelfth or thirteenth-century painter, who repainted several scenes in the upper and lower storeys, including the Bosom of Abraham (crypt narthex) and the framed St. George (church narthex). Alternatively he could be identified with the master of the seated apostles of the Last Judgement on the vault of the crypt narthex, adjoining the Iviropoulos inscription and painted apparently after the collapse of the original vault decorations in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. This latter master was also probably responsible for the repainting of the Madonna and Child over the entrance into the upstairs church naos. The substitution of \omicron for ω is quite a common "error" in Byzantine Greek and is attested in the writing practice of both Greeks and non-Greeks. As to the painter's identity, it would appear most unlikely that John Petritzos would refer to himself as Iviropoulos in this inscription and as Petritzos in all others.⁶² The only points in common in the biographies of the two people are that they were both called John and at one time in their lives they worked at the Bačkovo monastery.

Xyngopoulos' identification of the artist as a twelfth-century master from Thessaloniki is supported by little else than the author's fertile imagination.⁶³ The form Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἰβηρόπουλος is simply the hellenization or Greek alternative to Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἴβηρος. The word Ἴβηρος used in eleventh-century Byzantine sources, as a recent study has shown,⁶⁴ has at least five main meanings: a Georgian, a Spaniard, a person from the Iberian theme of the Byzantine empire (mainly Armenians), a Chalcedonian Armenian or a person from the Iviron monastery on Athos. Hence the name cannot be seen as a positive proof of the painter's nationality. The Bačkovo Iviropoulos is not a lonely exception. A certain twelfth-century Iviropoulos (Εὐτυχίου τοῦ Ἰβηροπούλου) is known from the typicon of the Saint Mamas monastery in Constantinople.⁶⁵ Thus neither the Iviropoulos inscription nor the Neophytos inscription gives any direct evidence for the dating of the frescoes of the Bačkovo ossuary.

A third inscription from the Bačkovo ossuary has not survived. It was in Georgian and was recorded in 1896 but by 1912 it had been destroyed.⁶⁶ This inscription was on a large framed portrait of Saint George depicted on the west wall of the narthex of the church and read in Georgian: "Saint George of Kašoet" (Plate 12). Šanidze has identified Kašoet with an iconographic type of Saint George that was popular in mediaeval Georgia and, despite the fact that the inscription is now lost and the only copy was made by a person not knowing Georgian, Šanidze palaeographically dates it to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.⁶⁷ This inscription is of some interest for the dating of the different layers of fresco in the ossuary. The layer with the Georgian inscription has largely peeled away in the upper part (or has been restored with cement). Beneath it is revealed an image of Saint George, considerably smaller in size and conforming perfectly in style and execution to the 1074-83 period. Over the edges of this later, superimposed image of Saint George is yet another layer of fresco belonging to the neighbouring niche image of Tsar Ivan Alexander of Bulgaria.

The painted figure of Tsar Ivan Alexander occupies the niche at the west-end on the north wall of the church narthex. It is one of the five filled-in niches (three in the church narthex and two in the crypt narthex) and undoubtedly belongs to a later stage in the decoration.⁶⁸ The five niche images are: Gregory and Apasios Pakurianoï, George and Gabriel (*kitors* of the monastery of uncertain date), Saints Constantine and Helen, Saint John the Theologian and Tsar Ivan Alexander. All the figures are painted in a similar harsh style in *secco* and have

poorly preserved Greek inscriptions. The figure of Tsar Ivan Alexander (1331-71) provides the *terminus post quem* for the group. The portrait could not have been executed before the monastery passed into the hands of the Bulgarians, led by Ivan Alexander in 1344, and it is unlikely that it would have been executed after the area fell to the Turks in 1363.⁶⁹ Hence the third period of fresco decoration of the ossuary can be firmly dated between 1344 and 1363.

The second period of decoration, to which the superimposed image of Saint George with the Georgian inscription belongs, must date between the end of the eleventh century and the middle of the fourteenth century. Saint George, the patron saint of Georgia, appears in the Bačkovo ossuary during a period of intensive Georgian activity at the monastery. None of the purely Georgian antiquities at Bačkovo dates from the eleventh century; they appear at a later date between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. These include the images of Saint George and Saint Theodore, possibly painted by John Iviropoulos, of which at least one had a Georgian inscription.⁷⁰ Other indications of a Georgian presence are a large cross with an inscription in Georgian: "Victory of Jesus Christ",⁷¹ a reference by Ansbertus in 1189 to the abbot at Bačkovo as a Georgian and the famous Georgian inscription, dated 1311, on the silver icon mount of the Bačkovo Mother of God. This last inscription suggests the monastery had become a place of pilgrimage for Georgian monks.⁷² It was probably at about this period that the Georgian *MS* of the typicon underwent alterations to remove all references to the Armenians.

From the surviving literary evidence and inscriptions, the following conclusions emerge for the chronology of the fresco decorations at the Bačkovo ossuary. Gregory Pakurianos, as a *ktitor* of the monastery, built and decorated the ossuary, not earlier than 1074, and completed it before 1083. The work was executed by an exceptionally competent master trained in the traditions of Byzantium, who used Greek inscriptions throughout. The ossuary underwent a partial redecoration, probably in the twelfth century, and possibly by John Iviropoulos. At this period the Georgians firmly controlled the monastery. With the shift of political power into the hands of the Bulgarians under Tsar Ivan Alexander, himself another *ktitor* of the monastery, five open arches were blocked in and painted in the period 1344 to 1363. Apart from these three documented periods, several other images underwent re-painting and can only be dated through an analysis of style and palaeography.

Footnotes

1. This paper arose out of my research on the Bačkovo frescoes as part of a doctoral thesis. I express my gratitude to my supervisors, Professor Mango, Dr Cormack and Professor De Bray, and to Professor Ševčenko, Professor André Grabar and Mr Winfield for their corrections and valuable comments.

2. The problem of the nationality of

the patrons and their biography I have discussed at some length in a paper yet to be published.

3. *Typicon*, 1.3, p. 116. References to the typicon are to the Cod. Chios gr. bibl. Korais 1599, ed.

S. Kauchtchishvili, *Typicon Gregorii Pacuriani*, Georgica, Scriptorum Byzantinorum excerpta ad Georgiam pertinentia, 5 (Tbilisi, 1963). This

edition is accompanied by a modern Georgian translation.

4. *Typicon*, 1.5, p. 118.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Typicon*, 6.13, p. 154; 6.17, p. 154; 6.18, p. 154; 8.1 ff., pp. 158 ff.; 34, pp. 240 ff.

7. *Typicon*, Introduction 2, p. 98; 2.11, p. 124; 2.12, pp. 124-6; 2.13, p. 126; 12.1, p. 172 and indirect references 1.2, pp. 114-16; 2.19, p. 124.

8. *Typicon*, 2.1, p. 120. Cf. the Georgian Chios MS ed. A. G. Šanidze, "Грузинский монастырь в Болгарии и его типик. Грузинская редакция типика", Памятники древнегрузинского языка, 13 (Tbilisi, 1971) (hereafter, Šanidze, 1971). I express my gratitude to Professor D. M. Lang for comparing the Georgian text with Šanidze's Russian translation of the passages discussed here. There is also an edition with Latin trans. by M. Tarchnišvili, *Typicon Gregorii Pacuriani*, CSCO, *Scriptores Iberici*, 143, parts 3 and 4 (1954).

9. *Typicon*, 11.1, p. 170.

10. L. Petit, "Typikon de Grégoire Pacourianos pour le monastère de Petritzos (Bačkovo) en Bulgarie", *VizVrem*, 2 (1904), xiii.

11. I. Ivanov, "Асѣновата крепость надъ Станимана и Бачковскиятъ монастырь", *Известия на Българското археологическо дружество*, 2 (1911), 204.

12. V. Ivanova, "Стари църкви и манастири въ Българскитѣ земи", *Годишник на Народния музей за 1922-25 години* (Sofia, 1926), 488.

13. *Typicon*, 1.3, p. 116; 1.5, p. 118.

14. E.g. *Typicon*, 2.11, p. 124; 2.12, p. 124; 2.13, p. 126; 11.1, p. 170; 12.5, p. 172; 22.1, p. 216.

15. *Typicon*, 1.3, p. 116.

16. Šanidze (1971), 286.

17. *Typicon*, 12.1, p. 172. Cf. Šanidze (1971), 300-301.

18. *Typicon*, 27.2, p. 224.

19. K. Miyatev, "Една важна находна в Бачковския манастир", *Известия на Българския археологически институт*, 21 (1957), 316-21.

20. C. Mango and E. Hawkins, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Camii) at Istanbul", *DOP*, 18 (1964), 300-301; A. Megaw, "The Skripou Screen", *BSA*, 61 (1966) 1-32. The catholicon at the Iviron monastery on Athos has two side chapels. It was dedicated to the Koimesis and built under abbot George Mtatsmindeli (1058-1065). This example would have been known to the Pakurianoï from their visits to Iviron: A. Natroev, *Иверскій монастырь на Афонѣ* (Tiflis, 1910), 51-62, 232-5, 318, 323.

21. Ivanov, *op. cit.*, 205, 209, 212.

22. A. N. Grabar, "Роспись церкви-костницы Бачковскаго монастыря", *Известия на Българския археологически Институтъ*, 2 (1924), 2 (hereafter Grabar, [1924]; *idem*, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1928), 56 (hereafter, Grabar, *La peinture*).

23. E.g. S. Stanimirov, "Бачковскиятъ монастырь въ миналото", *Отец Паусий*, 13 (Plovdiv, n.d.), 363; N. Mavrodinov, *Старобългарското изкуство XI-XIII вв.* (Sofia, 1966), 24; S. Bobchev and

- L. Dinolov, *Бачковская костница* (Sofia, 1960), 5, 8.
24. E. Bakalova, *Murals in the Bakhkovo Ossuary* (Sofia, 1967), 27-8; *idem.*, "Фрески церкви-гробницы бачковского монастыря и Византийская живопись XII века", *Византия, южные славяне и древняя Русь, Западная Европа*, ed. V. Grašenkov (Moscow, 1973), 231-2.
25. *Tyricon*, Introduction 2, pp. 98-100: . . . κτίτορος τῆς θεοδμήτου καὶ νεοδμήτου ταύτης μονῆς καὶ κοιμητηρίου τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναπαύσεως . . . τῆς ἀνισταμένης εἰς ἀρωγὴν καὶ λύτρωσιν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἐμὴν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοῦ μακαρίτου ἀγαθέλφου μου τοῦ μαγίστρου Ἀλασίου.
26. P. Gautier, "Le tyricon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator", *REB*, 32 (1974), 73.
27. *Ibid.*, 107.
28. L. Petit, "Tyricon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos", *IRAİK*, 13 (1908), 61, 63-4.
29. A. A. Dmitrievskiy, *Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках православного Востока I* (Kiev, 1895), 447.
30. H. Delehayе, *Deux tyrica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* *MAcBelg ser 2*, 13 (Brussels, 1921), 99.
31. *Tyricon*, 22.2, p. 216.
32. *Tyricon*, 22.1, pp. 214-16; 30.1-2, p. 232.
33. *Tyricon*, 21.1-12, pp. 208-14.
34. *Tyricon*, 2.9, p. 124.
35. *Tyricon*, 2.11, p. 124.
36. Sanidze (1971), 288.
37. *Tyricon*, 2.13, p. 126.
38. In early Christian communities in Egypt, the monastic cemeteries were usually located outside the walls, but sometimes within them and at other times burials took place in the church itself; C. C. Walters, *Monastic Archaeology in Egypt* (Warminster, 1974), 229-34.
39. *Tyricon*, 1.2, pp. 114-16: κτίσαι ναόν τε περικαλλῆ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν μοναστῶν καταγώγιον καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κοιμητήριον εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν τῶν ἐφ'αμάρτων ὀστέων μου.
40. *Tyricon*, Conclusion 1, p. 252.
41. *Tyricon*, 2.11, p. 124.
42. In the Gelati monastery a Georgian MS 46 has an inscription that it was translated from the Greek by Arsenius and David, monks from Petritzos, in the month of January, fifth indiction, 6538 (A.D. 1030); published in N. Kondakov and D. Bakradze, *Опись памятниковъ древности въ некоторыхъ храмахъ и монастыряхъ Грузіи*, (St. Petersburg, 1890), 53-4. Cf. N. Marr, "Аркаунь, монгольское названіе христіанъ, въ связи съ вопросомъ объ армянахъ . . ." *VizVrem*, 12 (1906), 17 ff. This suggests that a monastery existed at least fifty-three years before Pakurianos' activity. Anna Comnena mentions Petritzos as belonging to the Empress Maria (*Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, II [Paris, 1943], IX, 5), who was the daughter of the Georgian king Bagrat IV (1027-72). Petritzos in this case refers to the fortress (present day Asenovata krepost') rather than to the area Iannovo where the monastery was built; however, a general Georgian presence in the area seems likely. Ivanov's suggestion (*op. cit.*, 194) that Anna's Petritzos may refer to another location closer to Sofia is an

unsupported complication to the question.

43. *Typicon*, Introduction 2, p. 98.

44. Still the most convincing reconstruction of Gregory's ancestry remains E. Honigman, *Die Östgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071 nach griechischen, arabischen, syrischen und armenischen Quellen* (Brussels, 1935), 222-5.

45. *Typicon*, 1.2, p. 114.

46. Τανῦν δὲ κατὰ τοῦ γήρου μου, *Typicon*, 1.3, p. 116.

47. *Typicon*, Chrysobull 14, p. 248.

48. *Typicon*, 2.9-10, p. 288.

49. The Georgian text and Russian translation are published in A. G. Šanidze, *Великий доместик запада Григорий Бакур-ианис-дзе и грузинский монастырь основанный им в Болгарии* (Tbilisi, 1970), 41 (hereafter Šanidze [1970]).

50. E.g. by this method S. Stanimirov ("Основавание на Бачковския монастырь" *Духовна Култура*, 21 [1940], 151), arrives at the years 1081-84.

51. *Typicon*, 30.1-2, pp. 232-4 cf. the Georgian text, Šanidze (1971), 318-19.

52. K. Kekelidze, *Литургическіе грузинскіе памятники въ отечественныхъ книгоохранилищахъ и ихъ научное значеніе* (Tiflis, 1908), xxvii; see also D. M. Lang, *Lives and Legends of Georgian Saints* (London, 1954), 154.

53. Its present appearance: ΔΥ ΤΟΥΛΟΥ... ΝΙΒΑΝΟΥ ΗΣΡΟΜΟ...

54. A. Grabar, "Матеріалы по средневѣковому изкуству въ Болгаріи", *Годишник на Народния музей*

в София, 2 (1921), 102; *idem*, (1924), 56-7; *idem*, *La peinture*, 56-7.

55. Part of the Bačkovo MSS is published by I. Gošev, "Нови данни за историята и археологията на Бачковския манастиръ", *Годишникъ на Софийския Университетъ, Богословски Факултетъ*, 8 (Sofia, 1931), 382-5.

56. *Ibid.*, 382.

57. *Ibid.*, 382.

58. *Ibid.*, 383.

59. *Ibid.*, 380-1.

60. Published in Gošev, *ibid.*, 349.

The surviving inscription reads:

+ ΔΗΙΣΤΟΡΕΙΟΝΑΝ... ΝΑΥΣΟ Δ'ΝΟΚ ΚΑΤΟ
ΔΙΑΧΕΡΟΝ-ΙΩ-ΙΩΡ... ΙΒΗΡΟΠΟΥΛΩ
ΚΟΙΤΑΝΙΝΟ ΣΚΟΝΤΕ... ΘΕ Τ ΔΙ ΔΤ Κ...

+Ανιστοριθι ὁ πάνσο[επτος] ναο[ς]
οὔτος ἄνο καὶ κάτω δια χειροσ
Ιω[άννου] ἱστορι[ογράφου]
Ιβηροπούλου. Καὶ οἱ ἀν[α]γινωσκον-
τες εὐχεσθε ἐμὶ δια τὸν Κ[ύριον].

61. *Ibid.*, 349-51.

62. N. Marr, "Иоанн Петрицкий, грузинский неоплатоник XI-XII вв", *Записки восточного отдeления русского археологического общества*, 19 (1909), 53-113.

63. A. Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique et la peinture macedonienne* (Athens, 1955), 15-25; *idem*, "Sur l'icone bilatérale de Poganovo", *CahArch*, 12 (1962), 341-50. The uncontested similarity between the Hosios David "Vision" and the depiction at Bačkovo, together with several vague compositional affinities in the depiction of certain feast scenes with those in some Macedonian churches, do not provide sufficient information to attribute the painter conclusively to a specific school.

64. V. A. Arutyunova-Fidanyan, " 'Ивер' в византийских источниках XI века", *Вестник Матенадарана*, 2 (1973), 46-66.
65. F. I. Uspenskiy, "Типик монастыря св. Маманта в Константинополе", *Летопись историко-филологического общества при императорском Новороссийском университете* (Odessa, 1892), 52.
66. D. Laskov, "Грузински надпись от Бачковския манастирь", *Извѣстия на Българското археологическо дружество*, 4 (1915), 268-70.
67. Šanidze (1971), 364-8.
68. A. Protich, "Типично изображение на българина въ XI вѣке", *Проломъ Списание за културенъ и общественъ животъ*, 2, pt. 11-12 (1923), 346-64. Protich remains an exception and dates them to 1083.
69. Ivanov, *op. cit.*, 212-15, convincingly reconstructs the Tsar Ivan Alexander inscription and suggests ca. 1344 as the likely date when the tsar enriched the Bačkovo monastery. Grabar repeats this argument, (1924), 58.
70. P. A. Syrku collected several Georgian inscriptions at the Bačkovo monastery. A. A. Tsagareli delivered a paper based on these inscriptions before the Oriental section of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Society in 1887. This paper does not appear to have been published and subsequently the inscriptions have been lost; mentioned by N. Marr, "О чудотворной грузинской иконе монастыря Бачкова в Болгаріи", *Христiанскій востокъ*, 2 (1913), 149-50.
71. Šanidze (1971), 362-64. Šanidze suggests a fourteenth-century date.
72. The inscription is mentioned by most authors dealing with Bačkovo. Unfortunately most follow the corrupt reading given by Petit (see note 10 above), xix-xx, and hence misdate the inscription. Šanidze published the full Georgian text accompanied by a Russian translation. He argues that the Georgian specifies the donors as monks from the Tao province; Šanidze (1971), 354-62.

The Vernacular εἰσιτήριοι for Agnes of France

Michael Jeffreys

Codex Vaticanus gr. 1851, published as the “Epithalamion of Andronikos II”,¹ has recently been studied by art-historians seeking to establish the date and significance of its unusual illustrations.² Though the manuscript contains no personal names, strong evidence connects it with the year 1179, and in fact suggests that it was written and illustrated then. But in spite of its strength this evidence is circumstantial and indirect, and may not convince those who feel for other reasons that it should be dated a century or more later. It is certainly puzzling if it is true that the highest circles of imperial patronage produced these rather crude pictures at the end of the twelfth century. Yet according to Belting they would be unique at any date: “keinerlei Parallelen besitzen und auch im Stilistischen singular sind”.³ This is the problem with which art-historians are faced: dating evidence which would normally be adequate but which may be tested to the limit in this case because the resultant date is hard to accept; and on the other hand illustrations whose nature may put them beyond normal dating criteria.

No attempt will be made here to attack this dilemma directly, or to add significantly to the interpretations proposed for the illustrations. This paper will accept the date of 1179 on the evidence presented, and will look at its wider implications. If it is right, the manuscript is as important in the spheres of language, literature and political and social history as in art history. Our inquiry will suggest reasons why the illustrations are rather unusual, and may thus contribute indirectly to the solution of the art-historical problem.

The manuscript has been carefully described by Canart,⁴ and is reproduced in its entirety, both pictures and text, by Spatharakis.⁵ His black and white plates may be interpreted in colour by reference to the clear and detailed descriptions of Strzygowski.⁶ It consists of four *bifolia*, now bound in incorrect sequence. Of the proposals made to reconstruct the original order of folios,⁷ that of Canart will probably prevail; it has been supported by Spatharakis on the basis of imprints from the illustrations, especially the illuminated capitals, found on the folios which faced them in the original sequence.⁸ Here is a summary of text and illustrations as reconstructed.⁹

The beginning is abrupt, plainly because folios are missing. A Western king writes a letter lamenting the loss of his daughter whom he is sending to be married in Constantinople, and hopes that she will find in the Emperor a second father as well as father-in-law (fol. 8^{r-v}). A messenger is sent by sea to congratulate her future husband the *Porphyrogenetos*: miniature of Constantinople (fol. 2^r, inscription correctly read by Spatharakis).¹⁰ A full-page illustration shows the arrival of the message and its delivery to the Emperor (fol. 2^v), while another immediately following shows the news being read to the people (fol. 7^v, where Spatharakis' interpretation is more convincing than that of Belting).¹¹ The text describes a universal outburst of joy at all levels of society (fol. 7^v). As

preparations for the marriage begin, a second message is brought (miniature showing its reception, fol. 1^r). This announces the princess' imminent arrival and again congratulates the *Porphyrogenetos* (fol. 1^v). The end of the message, presumably followed by narrative of the princess' disembarkation, is missing. When the text resumes, more than seventy ladies of the imperial house are sent to greet her, one of whom goes ahead to dress her as a Byzantine *Augusta* for the occasion (fol. 3^r). In the accompanying illustration (fol. 3^v) she is shown before and after her transformation, and then enthroned with ladies of her new court: but its centre is an impressive bridge decorated with statues and crosses — a topographical problem yet to be solved satisfactorily.¹² After another lacuna of one folio, the poet raises the emotional tone and announces a more important meeting than that with the ladies (fol. 5^{r-v}, with another miniature of Constantinople). The Emperor's first daughter, the *Basilissa*, the *Porphyrogenete*, comes out of the city to do obeisance to her new sister-in-law, and with surprising expressions of fear the poet describes how the meeting takes place in a tent outside the walls (fol. 6^{r-v}, as shown in a full-page miniature). Both are great beauties, but the Western princess is the fairer (fol. 4^v). This appears to be the point in the ceremonies reached at the time when the poem was delivered. The poet now promises to do his best to describe the indescribable events which will take place in the next few days (fol. 4^v). At this point the text breaks off.

At its first publication in 1901 Strzygowski connected the text with Andronikos II and thus dated it towards the end of the thirteenth century. But a year later his identification was decisively rejected by Papadimitriu, for reasons which have been reported several times since, and need not be repeated here.¹³ Papadimitriu proposed to identify the wedding as that of Alexios II Comnenos and Agnes, daughter of Louis VII of France, and dated the text to 1179. The case for this identification is best summed up by Spatharakis.¹⁴ The age of the couple (Alexios was around ten and his bride nine) corresponds with the miniatures, where both are depicted as children, and with the text. The journey from France was made by sea (via Genoa), as indicated in the poem and its illustrations. Seventy ladies of the immediate imperial house could have been mustered in the late 1170's,¹⁵ but at few other moments in late Byzantine history. Alexios was *porphyrogenetos* and his *porphyrogenete* elder sister Maria, appropriately shown much larger in the illustrations, had been hailed at birth as βασιλῆς, a more formal equivalent of βασίλισσα.¹⁶ As seems to be implied by the poem there were no other surviving children: yet the words "first daughter" applied to Maria are explained by the existence of a younger sister who had died.¹⁷ The fathers of bride and groom were both alive in 1179 (though both were to die in 1180), and the bride's father was of sufficient status to be called "king" (*regarches*). No other marriage of a Byzantine *porphyrogenetos* with a Western bride fits all these stipulations.

A few more general points should be noted. A pre-Comnenian date is precluded by the use of the title *sevastokrator*, invented by Alexios I. The Nicene period is excluded by hints in the text and an explicit inscription on an illustration indicating that Constantinople is the scene of the events. The whole Palaeologan period is made most unlikely by the fact that possible Palaeologan emperors "invariably are all shown with a long beard ending in two points", while the beard of the emperor in the *Epithalamion* is short and round.¹⁸ Spatharakis compares the face and beard of Manuel Comnenos (Alexios II's father) in a miniature of Vat. gr. 1176, where my untrained eye also sees similarities between the portrayal of

Alexios' mother, Maria of Antioch, and the figure on fol. 7^r of the *Epithalamion* manuscript, identified as Maria by Spatharakis.¹⁹ Palaeographical arguments, which were given some space by Strzygowski, have proved inconclusive: the manuscript is written in a large, rounded archaising hand which is almost undatable.²⁰ One may add, finally, the resemblances noted by Papadimitriou between this poem and the address of welcome delivered by Eustathius of Thessalonica on the arrival of Agnes at Constantinople.²¹

This evidence is extensive and its cumulative effect strong: but it does not constitute positive proof, particularly in view of the number of Western marriages contracted during the last centuries of Byzantium. Furthermore, as I have indicated, there are general considerations which make it rather difficult to accept. To put it bluntly, the illustrations look more the product of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century decadence, than the product of the competent imperial machinery which had presided over Manuel Comnenos' grandiose foreign policy projects, and which could be relied on for a special effort to mark his last coup, the marriage alliance with the King of France. While an exception is made for the illuminated capitals, which can be accepted as twelfth-century painting,²² the rest of the miniatures plainly impress experts as later work.²³ One of the most serious points is the court uniforms. The clothes worn in the *Epithalamion* miniatures, especially the headdresses, seem more appropriate to the Palaeologan period than the Comnenian. Headdresses from several illustrations are reminiscent of (to take the most prominent example) that of Theodore Metochites in the donor mosaic of the Kariye Djami.²⁴ This is presumably one reason why Strzygowski's false attribution of the poem to the marriage of Andronikos II has been accepted uncritically by several scholars.²⁵

Spatharakis counters objections concerned with court headdresses by reference to several miniatures in the Septuagint manuscript Vat. gr. 752, dated to 1059.²⁶ My own feeling is that remarkably little information seems to be available about Comnenian official costume, and that much which survives dates from the early years of the dynasty.²⁷ This seems an area of knowledge likely to be enriched by study of the *Epithalamion* rather than the reverse. Perhaps we should conclude that some at least of the changes in costume observable in the Palaeologan period have their origins earlier — perhaps in the reign of Alexios Comnenos, the period which also saw a radical change in the number and scope of official titles.²⁸ I know of no evidence to the contrary.

One compromise which has been proposed seems to me very unlikely. Velmans, observing that dating criteria refer mainly to the poem's text rather than to the manuscript as a whole, proposed to accept the date of 1179 for the poem, but suggested that this manuscript was a fourteenth-century copy.²⁹ Belting, however, has pointed out acutely that the poem is addressed to the Western princess who is its major actor and that it is richly produced in a large format.³⁰ It is also an ephemeral text in a rather informal kind of Greek. It is quite explicable as an address of welcome to Agnes in 1179, a presentation copy perhaps to be given to its addressee during the ceremonies. It seems, on the other hand, unlikely that such a text should be copied in such a form even a few decades after the event it describes, and almost impossible that a motive for the production of this manuscript could be found nearly two hundred years later. All the evidence points to the fact that the manuscript is an original — in other words, that the date of the

text must be accepted as the date of the manuscript. In the remainder of this paper I will assume that the date concerned is 1179.

Our next task is to place our poem in its literary and linguistic context. There is an established literary (or sub-literary) genre for which it is immediately appropriate: that of ceremonial poems written in the decapentasyllable *political* verse, addressed to emperors and their near relatives, and dealing with the major events of their careers — births, marriages, wars, deaths.³¹ The date too is most appropriate since the majority of these poems which survive fall into the reigns of John and Manuel Comnenos, and centre round the name of Theodore Prodromos and his puzzling *alter ego*, the poet of the Mangana-codex. Similar poems are preserved, however, from the reign of Alexios Comnenos through the Nicene period till far into the fourteenth century.³² One may probably ascribe to an earlier stage of the same tradition the laments for tenth-century emperors which form the earliest dated and secure examples of the political verse.³³

Within this broader genre we must make a special examination of poems related to marriage. Many of these survive from the reigns of John and Manuel Comnenos, most of which were plainly intended to be sung or recited at the marriage ceremony itself.³⁴ We shall have occasion to look at some of these later, particularly those where a non-Byzantine spouse marries a member of the Comnenian imperial house. But it seems sure that our poem is not an epithalamion in this strict sense. Agnes arrived in Constantinople in 1179, probably during the summer, but married Alexios only in February or March 1180.³⁵ Though it was no doubt written earlier, the poem's ostensible date cannot be more than a day or two after her arrival, for the latest events mentioned, before the poet promises to proceed to the future, are the welcomes, first by seventy imperial ladies and then by Maria, her future sister-in-law. The speech of Eustathius of Thessalonica mentioned above, which seems to have been delivered at or soon after her disembarkation, and so was probably a little earlier, is described as "like an ἐπιβατήριον".³⁶ An even closer parallel is the decapentasyllable poem of Theodore Prodromos welcoming to Constantinople Manuel's first wife, Bertha von Sulzbach.³⁷ Here too the poem refers to the arrival (1142) and not to the marriage (beginning of 1146). That poem is divided into five sections, only the last of which is directly addressed to Bertha: but that section refers clearly to the presence of imperial ladies who have come to greet her.³⁸ The poem to Bertha is called εἰσιτήριοι in the manuscripts, and I should like to propose that name for the poem we are discussing here.

The term εἰσιτήριοι has been used in the title of this paper, and with it the adjective "vernacular", which also needs explanation. The language of the poem falls decisively outside even the most relaxed of the normal standards for writing set in twelfth-century Byzantium.³⁹ Words such as τίτοιος (fol. 8^v 1, fol. 7^v 1, Modern Greek τέτοιος), and the regular use of *vá* with the subjunctive for a range of verbal functions, are elements of the spoken language of the time which were rarely permitted to appear on the written page. One may add a few of the other forms which have caught my eye as departures from the normal standards of writing — though the implications differ from case to case: final -ν on μήνυμαν (fol. 7^v 1, fol. 1^r 3) and ἰμάτιν (fol. 3^r 16); future *τολμήσειν θέλω* (fol. 5^v 11); *αὐθεντόπουλον* (fol. 1^v 18); accusative for dative *νά σε ἀλλάξῃ. . . ἰμάτιν* (fol. 3^r 15-16), *ἠνώθην σε* (fol. 4^r 1); prepositions (*ἀπό, ἐκ, μετά*) constructed with learned genitive or vernacular accusative, apparently indiscriminately; distortion

of word-accent by the stressed fourteenth syllable of the decapentasyllable line in μερίμων (fol. 8^r4) and συγγενιδῶν (fol. 5^r4); use of the article-form pronouns as relatives and non-enclitic demonstratives (τὴν ἤθελες . . . νὰ τὴν ἰδῆς . . . fol. 1^v 7-13). Other elements remain faithful to purist rules: participles are accurately declined, many two-termination adjectives resist the temptation to form a feminine, and most relative pronouns are forms of ὅς. This is not the place for exhaustive linguistic analyses, especially since there is no comprehensive study of surviving evidence for the spoken language of the twelfth century. I hope that it is fair on the evidence presented to conclude that this poem, by twelfth century standards, is written at an informal level close to the vernacular of the time. A more direct impression of the linguistic texture of the poem may be gained from two passages analysed later for their content, which will be given in full in the notes.

Once again there is an obvious context for the poem, that of the twelfth-century vernacular experiments of Ptochoprodromos, Glykas and the Spaneas poem.⁴⁰ All these are connected with the courts of John or Manuel Comnenos, where a historic breakthrough was achieved in writing the modern vernacular. We may suggest to future historians of popular Greek literature that they make some reference to the poem discussed here in their treatment of twelfth-century developments, though it has less linguistic significance and far less literary merit than the Ptochoprodromic poems, if not the others too. In this connection it should be mentioned that a later date would raise problems: there would be no significant parallels for vernacular work dated to the thirteenth century,⁴¹ and one suspects that the ambitious classicism of, say, the court of Andronikos II would have found this production distasteful. In the fourteenth century, poems with large vernacular elements become quite common, but with one debatable exception the scene of experimentation appears to have shifted from the imperial court to less exalted spheres, often the periphery of the Empire, and especially to Greek areas under western rule.⁴²

It seems that the poem's vernacular elements are owed to the fashion of the Comnenian court, perhaps set by the emperors themselves. But it is worth mentioning that Alexios' mother Maria of Antioch and his bride Agnes were both closely connected to the courts where vernacular French was in the second half of the twelfth century becoming a major vehicle of expression for written literature. Eleanor of Aquitaine, whom many regard as the primary figure in this movement, had been the first wife of Louis VII, Agnes' father, and was niece of Raymond of Poitiers, father of Maria of Antioch. Scandalous connections between Raymond and Eleanor, uncle and niece, at Antioch during the Second Crusade, had been a major cause of Eleanor's divorce from Louis VII. The patron of Chrétien de Troyes was the daughter of Eleanor and Louis, Marie, Countess of Champagne, who by the complex interbreeding of French ruling families was married to the brother of Agnes' mother, Adèle of Blois, Louis' third wife. Thus vernacular tendencies in the Byzantine court would have found responses in the background of the Westerners involved in this marriage — and may even, in fact, owe their existence to Western influence.⁴³

It is time now to pass from form and language to content. This is the most stereotyped of genres, and nearly all that is written in this poem is purely conventional — a response which would be appropriate to the arrival of an imperial fiancée by sea at any date late in Manuel's reign. But two passages strike

me as unusual, as demanding analysis within their restricted historical situation. The first concerns the lines in which the poet becomes increasingly emotional as he passes from the visit of the seventy Comnenian ladies to that of Maria, Agnes' future sister-in-law:

"After this meeting, terrible, I think, indescribable and dread, I come to another meeting, more terrible and yet more completely indescribable, and I fear that from that indescribable nature of the meeting my heart may break and burst and be torn from me, or some great agony may befall me. But yet, though there is grave danger from the great ones (μεγαλοι), though an agonising death may be in store for me as a result of this, and I may be lost completely and inexorably from this world, I will dare, *Augusta*, all that your honour demands, and I will write in full detail, whatever may happen to me".⁴⁴

The passage begins conventionally, with the *topos* that the events of which the poet has to speak are quite beyond his powers of expression. This is a regular way of emphasising the spectacular qualities and profound significance of an episode, and is found frequently both in twelfth-century poetry and in the later popular poetry of Byzantium.⁴⁵ But the poet goes on to speak of his fear of a painful death at the hands of the *μεγάλοι*, merely, it seems, for describing the visit of Maria to Agnes, of the imperial bridegroom's sister to his fiancée. Here his words cannot be explained in terms of this *topos* or of any other of which I am aware. One may suspect that he is expressing something of real significance in the political situation of Byzantium in 1179.

That situation⁴⁶ was one of increasing tension, as it became ever plainer that the health of the Emperor Manuel was failing, and that his son Alexios was likely to be left a minor with a need for a regency. For the members of the imperial family this meant a chance to assert their independence for their financial gain, to seize the power behind the throne, or even the throne itself. Equally the pressures caused by Manuel's ambitious and expensive policies were coming to the surface, waiting only for his death to break out in bloodshed. Whatever the underlying nature of these pressures, their major form of expression was in tension between the native population of Constantinople and the tens of thousands of Westerners encouraged by Manuel's policies to take up residence in the city. Manuel, as Choniates says,⁴⁷ preferred the barbarous Western Europeans, and he was anxious to exploit them to renew the flagging strength of the Eastern Empire. On one level, this involved his own marriages with two brides of Western origin, and finding Western spouses for both his children. On another, it meant using Western experts and mercenaries in the military sphere, and opening ever wider financial opportunities to Western merchants. The chief defining factors, therefore, of the divisions which were appearing in the state in 1179 were support for, or opposition to, the continuation of this Western influence.

The pro-Latin party was the more likely to be successful in the short term, since it had the blessing of Manuel himself. In March 1171, the latter had secured the agreement of the Patriarch Michael of Anchialos, which was to be binding on all his successors, that Alexios should succeed to the throne without further coronation after Manuel's own death; but that if Alexios had not reached the age of sixteen, power was to pass to his mother, Maria of Antioch, who was to be recognized as the young Emperor's tutor and regent.⁴⁸ She thus became the centre of the pro-Latin party. In hindsight, however, it seems clear that the majority of

the populace were hostile to Latin political and economic domination, including many men of power and influence who showed their true opinions later at the outbreak of civil war.

The anti-Latin party already, in all probability, looked beyond Constantinople for its chief hope, to Manuel's old rival and cousin, Andronikos Comnenos, who was in semi-exile in the east of Byzantine Asia Minor. But this legendary hero at a distance needed to be coupled with a focus of loyalty closer at hand. To use hindsight once again, it seems that this role was played by the Maria of our manuscript, Manuel's only surviving daughter. For a period before the birth of Alexios, Maria had been at the centre of her father's plans for the succession, as Manuel despaired of a male heir.⁴⁹ For a time Maria had been engaged to Bela, a member of the Hungarian royal house, who was educated at Constantinople as future emperor by right of inheritance through his fiancée. This arrangement of Manuel's to secure a Westerner as his successor seems not to have been popular, and was revoked on the birth of Alexios.

When Maria's hand no longer involved the right of succession, Manuel could use it to cement grander and more distant alliances.⁵⁰ At different dates negotiations were begun with the widowed mother and regent of William II of Sicily, with Frederick Barbarossa in connection with his son Henry, and with Henry II of England for John Lackland. All these projects, however, failed, and for nearly a decade after Alexios' birth Maria stayed in the palace, where she was on poor terms, we may guess, with her stepmother Maria of Antioch, who though less than ten years older was the proud mother of the young step-brother who had supplanted her. In the end, at the same time as the negotiations to marry Alexios to Agnes, Manuel arranged to marry Maria to Renier of Montferrat, a member of the family which was the cornerstone of surviving Byzantine interests in Italy. Renier, who arrived in Constantinople in August or September 1179, was given the title of Caesar and married to Maria in February 1180, just before the wedding of Alexios and Agnes.

As already mentioned, Manuel's plans for Maria and Bela had apparently been unpopular, as representing the bestowal of the imperial title on a Hungarian prince. Maria and Renier, on the other hand, seem to have been much more acceptable to the anti-Latin party.⁵¹ Perhaps it was assumed that Maria, at the age of nearly thirty, would be able to direct the policies of her sixteen-year-old husband towards Byzantine rather than Western interests. More important, however, was the fact that this pair now formed the only immediate alternative to the strongly pro-Latin policies likely to be followed by Maria of Antioch — policies which were in fact adopted after Manuel's death in September 1180, when she became regent. Her popularity as regent was even more compromised by handing the administration of the Empire over to the greedy hands of Alexios the *Protosevastos*, whom the sources unanimously assert to have been her lover.

To return to Maria, Manuel's daughter, it must be admitted that we have no direct information about her political interest and involvement in 1179, when our poem was written. But by the beginning of 1181 she and her husband were the heart of the opposition to the regents.⁵² A conspiracy was formed around them to murder the *Protosevastos* on February 7. It was a complete failure. Their accomplices were arrested and condemned, but Maria and Renier themselves (according to Choniates)⁵³ were too popular for such treatment. Yet the situation was dangerous enough for them to take refuge under the Patriarch's protection in

St. Sophia. The regents tried negotiations and then threats to bring them back to the imperial palace, but without success, and so preparations were made to use force. At this point, however, the anti-Latins, headed by the Church, exploiting the popularity of Maria and Renier and reinforcing it with hard cash, very quickly raised an armed force strong enough to defend St. Sophia against all the troops the regents had at hand, and even, with the support of the populace, to give some chance of capturing the imperial palace. After a period of stalemate there was a battle at the beginning of May in which the dreams of Maria and Renier were shattered: their forces were driven back inside St. Sophia, and they had to accept humiliating terms and to return to the palace.

Disorders continued, with the arrest of the Patriarch and his subsequent liberation when the violence of the popular reaction proved too strong.⁵⁴ It became obvious to all that the pro-Latin regency was not only widely unpopular, but was not keeping the peace. In this situation, the way was open for the intervention of Andronikos Comnenos from the East. As he marched towards the city, the forces of the regents melted away. By the spring of 1182 he reached the Bosphoros, and the defection of the imperial fleet made his victory inevitable. His arrival in the city was preceded by a brutal massacre of all Westerners (May 1182). The *Protosevastos* was blinded and later Maria of Antioch was executed and Renier and Maria both met mysterious deaths. Alexios II survived as titular Emperor and then co-Emperor with Andronikos till November 1183, when he was strangled by Andronikos' men.⁵⁵ The only survivor of the characters of our poem was Agnes, who at the age of thirteen was married to her first husband's murderer, the sixty-five-year-old Andronikos, and who was still in the city at the start of 1204.⁵⁶

With the hindsight of history we can see therefore that the society which produced our manuscript was on the edge of an abyss of violence and revolution, a bloodthirsty story of which many of the chief agents and victims are mentioned or pictured in our document. It is legitimate to ask whether the pressures which were to become apparent immediately after the death of Manuel Comnenos have left any traces in advance in the poem or its illustrations. It seems to me that they have.

I hope it may be agreed that the poet had good reason to see in the visit of Maria to Agnes an event of some significance, which he recounted with a degree of risk to his personal safety. The obeisance performed by Maria to Agnes marked the formal acceptance, by one of the chief symbols of the anti-Latin cause, of a marriage which seemed to set the seal on the success of pro-Latin policy. One may surmise that the importance laid by the poet on this act of recognition means that it was performed unwillingly, perhaps under compulsion from Manuel and his wife — and we may have a foretaste of the battle-lines drawn up round St. Sophia some eighteen months later. On this interpretation, the poet himself must be a prominent supporter of the pro-Latin cause. The fear that he expresses can be read as a sense of the fragility of the position of the Latins and their supporters in the city, once the dominant presence of Manuel was removed. The *μεγάλοι* of whom he speaks must be those who eventually supported Andronikos against the regents. Indeed there is every reason to suppose that the poet's prediction of his own painful death was fulfilled, if he was still in Constantinople at the time of the Latin massacre, some three years after he wrote this poem.

These conclusions about the political stance of the poet are confirmed by the second of the passages mentioned above, which is equally outside the

conventional patterns of ceremonial poetry. Here too the subject is Maria's visit to Agnes. The poet is moved to compare this encounter to the meeting of two stars,⁵⁷ the greatest beauties of the world, and continues, addressing Agnes:

"One of these was the glory of the whole West, your own lively form of air and crystal, while the other, the second, *Augusta*, unable to bear comparison with your beauty, was your sister-in-law, the *Porphyrogenete*".⁵⁸

No reader of the twelfth-century ceremonial poetry, especially the marriage-poems, can fail to be surprised by this simple claim of the superior beauty of the Western as against the Eastern princess, especially when one realises that Agnes is nine years of age and Maria nearly thirty. This is a political statement, which owes nothing to the poet's appreciation of female beauty.

The conventional assumptions made in the ceremonial poetry of the central period of Comnenian prosperity, of Theodore Prodromos and especially of the Mangana poet, is the automatic superiority of everything Byzantine over everything coming from outside the immediate Byzantine sphere. The Western crusading prince is astounded by Byzantine wealth and cowed by Byzantine power. The Western bride marrying into the imperial family is a beautiful plant set in the imperial gardens. Her father, or a Western bridegroom marrying a Comnenian bride, gains new power and status by the connection. The Emperor as sun shines on the Western star with a part of his light, so as to give him reflected lustre without shining so brightly that he becomes completely invisible. The Western prince's power is praised, his daughter's beauty is extolled, merely to reflect greater glory on the Emperor to whom they do obeisance, and who can take his pick of imperial brides from the whole world. Above all, in relations with Western Europe, the New Rome of Constantinople is shown as superior to the Old Rome, which may be extended to cover the whole of non-Orthodox Europe. As examples of the developed Comnenian ideology we may take extracts from two marriage-poems.

The first of these is the εἰσιτήριον for Bertha von Sulzbach of which we have spoken before:⁵⁹

"Rejoice I say, young Rome, at these εἰσιτήριον, by which you have been proved to be the head of the older Rome; for if the latter gives the bride and you the groom, and we know of course that the man is the head of the woman...(13-16). O great king (*rex*) of the ancient and older Rome...glorious Conrad...now you have risen in honour, now you have been ennobled still further, because you have been grafted into the Comnenian family and have been held to be the heir of so mighty an Emperor...(37-43) and do obeisance, in his absence, to the mighty Emperor, who has transplanted a beautiful vine from the West, and has established it in the imperial gardens so that you may embrace and grow together with his own stock" (57-9).

The second is the epithalamion for the marriage of the Archduke of Austria with Manuel's niece Theodora, which took place in Constantinople in the winter of 1147-8, as one of the results of the Second Crusade:⁶⁰

"Germany, dance, rejoice and celebrate, for the glorious Duke is being united in great good fortune with the *Sevastokrator's* most beautiful daughter, and is becoming more brilliant from her greater brilliance and

more glorious from her greater glory (1-5).⁶¹ Imperial sun. . . arise with your golden gleams from your couch, and send forth your rays and your sparkling beams, and with your light illumine this star too, who has come from the Western evening to the dawning day of the East. But do not direct all your rays, not all your brightness, not the full light of your orb nor the whole of your brilliance today upon this star of the West, so as not to hide the star by your great light. But send out some small part of your rays and illumine and light up the star...; for if you send your whole brilliance on him he will be completely hidden in your great light, for when the sun is shining the star cannot shine with it" (13-26).⁶²

These two marriage-songs are particularly rich in such chauvinistic assertions, because these are specially relevant at moments when dynastic politics are at issue. But one finds many other similar excerpts in other kinds of ceremonial poetry.⁶³

Imperialistic rhetoric like that given above, one would suspect, would go out of fashion at the end of Manuel's reign and afterwards, as Byzantine power to influence events fell lower and lower, between the destruction of the Empire's main fighting force at the Battle of Myriokephalon (1176), and the loss of the imperial city to the Fourth Crusade in 1204. This suspicion is confirmed by the limited surviving evidence from marriage-poems. Both the *εἰσιτήριοι* for Agnes which we have been discussing and the Epithalamion produced by Niketas Choniates some seven years later for the marriage of the Emperor Isaac II with a Hungarian princess⁶⁴ are free from the more overt forms of such rhetoric. The same can be said of the speech of Eustathius to welcome Agnes and that of Choniates for Isaac II's marriage. With the exception of the passage we are discussing all these works accept Byzantine superiority as a fact, but find it unnecessary — or perhaps inopportune — to stress it. But nothing I have seen in any twelfth-century ceremonial literature would prepare the reader for an assertion of Western *superiority*, like the statement in our poem that the Western bride's beauty is incomparably greater than that of the Byzantine *Porphyrogennete*. This is a political comment whose purpose must be similar to that of the other unexpected lines analysed above: the poet is confirming the final transference of the imperial inheritance from Manuel Comnenos' daughter to his son, and expressing satisfaction that Maria, who must already have been a focus of anti-Latin hopes, as she was certainly to become eighteen months later, was forced to recognise the French marriage alliance which was one of the last major achievements of Manuel's pro-Latin policy.

The conclusions of this discussion may be briefly stated. I believe that this document should be entitled "The *εἰσιτήριοι* of Agnes of France", and should be dated to 1179, on evidence which is little short of conclusive. If one examines the poem in this context, it shows certain differences from the regular ceremonial poems, especially in language and the ideological stance implied by two of its passages. These differences fit surprisingly well in the circumstances of 1179. Relaxed, near-vernacular language in an imperial document is appropriate to the reign of Manuel Comnenos, of whose tastes in this matter we have evidence: if one adds that there is reason to connect the immediate inspiration of the document with the pro-Latin party, and that both Maria of Antioch who led that party and Agnes to whom the poem was addressed had close family connections with the chief patrons of the vernacular in France, then the breach of linguistic decorum is

explained. There are two linked occasions in the poem when the poet's pro-Latin sympathies break the conventions of the ceremonial framework in which he is writing. Here we have a clear foretaste of the bitter antagonisms which were to explode into violence after Manuel's death.

For the last points in this paper I should like to return to its illustrations, from which the discussion began. One may point out first how their unusual and incongruous qualities, which have caused difficulties with the 1179 dating, but which, one suspects, are not easy to explain at any date, are paralleled in other aspects of the manuscript. Both the language of the poem and some aspects of what it expresses suggest that we are dealing here with the product of an unusual form of patronage.

There is even a hint in the illustrations as to whom that patron might be. On fol. 7^F there is a picture in two registers (see Plate 13) which has caused problems of interpretation. The top register shows some kind of official ceremony, which has been equated with the *prokypsis*.⁶⁵ There are three figures of some size and a smaller bearded figure holding a scroll, who is plainly acting as spokesman to an assembled crowd. In the lower register there are two figures, the first of whom is beginning to mount a flight of steps. This first figure at the bottom and the central figure at the top are plainly intended to be rulers — that at the top at least portraying a mature Byzantine emperor — in this case Manuel Comnenos. The figure at the left of the top register can only be the *Porphyrogenetos*, Alexios II. Strzygowski⁶⁶ first interpreted the bottom register as showing the foreign king symbolically⁶⁷ introducing his daughter into the Byzantine imperial family, who stand (Emperor, Empress and *Porphyrogenetos*) at the top. Belting⁶⁸ believes that this is the frontispiece of the manuscript rather than the illustration of a detail of the text, like the other miniatures. He identifies both the ruler figures as portrayals of Manuel, who at the bottom is conducting the bride into the palace, while in the upper register he and she with the *Porphyrogenetos* are listening to a reading of the Epithalamion, the text of the manuscript itself. It is true that several others of the manuscript's illustrations must be read in this way, with the same characters appearing more than once. But the problem is the striking difference between the two portrayals (by Belting's view) of the princess, who as the splendid figure in the top register, as he admits, is "kaum wiederzuerkennen" from the small girl below.

This problem is pointed out by Spatharakis,⁶⁹ who in my opinion gives the correct interpretation. He makes a convincing identification of the second figure below with the *Porphyrogenetos* above, and suggests that this miniature is related to the text, like the others. The Western bride has not yet come: the text speaks of a letter, which is brought in by Manuel and Alexios at the bottom and then read publicly at the top, to produce the universal joy mentioned in the text. But we are left with the problem which confused Belting: the dominant figure on the page is the splendid female at the top, which by Spatharakis' explanation, as by Strzygowski's, must represent the Empress. "Sie ist offensichtlich die Hauptperson. Drei Augenpaare wenden sich ihr zu".⁷⁰ Why should the Empress be given such pictorial significance in a ceremony which seems not to concern her directly? By the arguments of this paper the explanation is not difficult: this figure is Maria of Antioch, the chief hope of the pro-Latin cause, who, as I think the illustrator knew, played a decisive role in the production of this manuscript.

Footnotes

1. Ed. J. Strzygowski (with the assistance of S.P. Lambros), "Das Epithalamion des Paläologen Andronikos II", *BZ*, 10 (1901), 546-67 (hereafter, Strzygowski).
2. T. Velmans, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues", in *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice, 1971), 91-148 (hereafter, Velmans), 102-3; H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (AbhHeid, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Jahrg. 1970, Hft. 1 (Heidelberg 1970; hereafter, Belting), 26-9; I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, ByzNeerland 6 (Leiden, 1976; hereafter, Spatharakis), 210-30.
3. Belting, 28.
4. P. Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 1745-1962*, I (Vatican, 1970; hereafter, Canart), 324-5.
5. Spatharakis, plates 158-73.
6. Strzygowski, 546-55.
7. S. P. Lambros, in Strzygowski, 556, note 1; Strzygowski, 556; S. Papadimitriou, 'Ο ἐπιθαλάμιος Ἀνδρονίκου II, τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, *BZ*, 11 (1902), 452-60 (hereafter, Papadimitriou), 458; Canart, 324.
8. Spatharakis, 218-9.
9. The text has yet to receive a fully satisfactory edition. That published by Strzygowski, 547-55 (mainly, it seems, the work of Lambros) is in the current incorrect folio sequence, and is divided by the descriptions of the miniatures; it also has several errors (see Papadimitriou, 459-60). That of Spatharakis, 221-7, is even less accurate and has no critical apparatus to show the readings of the text, nor a consecutive line-numbering; equally the fifteen-syllable lines are for some reason divided into separate octosyllables and heptasyllables. Strzygowski provides a German translation (556-61), and Spatharakis a longer summary than that given here (227-30).
10. Spatharakis, 227; cf. Strzygowski, 548.
11. Spatharakis, 214-6; cf. Belting, 28-9 (see also p. 111 above).
12. Could this be an illustration of the Justinianic bridge over the Barbyzes at the far end of the Golden Horn, the "pons lapideus" of which a crusader said, "Pons vero ille protensior erat parvo ponte Parisiensi; et erat adeo strictus, ut tres equites vincti lateribus simul vix per illum possent transire"? (Hugh de St. Pol, in G. L. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, I [Vienna, 1856], 307-8). In that case Agnes, who came on a Genoese ship, must have landed at Pera and travelled by land round the Golden Horn. Why? In the fourteenth century, brides from abroad arriving by sea would land at a convenient spot outside the suburb of Blachernae (Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des Offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux [Paris, 1966], 287).
13. Papadimitriou, 452-4, reported by, e.g., Belting, 27, note 90, and Spatharakis, 212-13.
14. Spatharakis, 213-14, 216-18.
15. See, e.g., the family tree of the Comnenian house drawn up by W. Hörandner, in *Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte*, WByzSt 11 (Vienna, 1974; hereafter, Hörandner).
16. Βασιλις ἀνεβοήθη, Cinnamos (Bonn ed.), 118; Ἐπάσματα ἐπὶ τῷ

- γενεθλίῳ τῆς Πορφυρογεννήτου καὶ βασιλίδος — title of a poem from the Mangana-codex, Marc. gr. XI 22, f. 39^{r-v} (E. Mioni, *Codices Graeci Manuscripti Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum*, III [Rome, 1973], 119).
17. Cinnamos, 202.
18. Spatharakis, 216-17.
19. Spatharakis, 216; cf. his plate 156 for an illustration of Vat. gr. 1176.
20. Strzygowski, 561, cf. Papadimitriu, 454; Canart, 324-5.
21. *Fontes rerum Byzantinorum*, ed. W. Regel and N. Novassadsky (St. Petersburg, 1892), 80-92 (hereafter, Eustathius); Papadimitriu, 454-8.
22. Strzygowski, 566; Belting, 27, note 90; Spatharakis, 214.
23. Strzygowski, 546; C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin* 2nd ed. (Paris, 1925-6), 877-9; Velmans, 103.
24. E.g. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1923), 127.
25. Listed by Spatharakis, 212.
26. Spatharakis, 230.
27. E.g. the latest of the five examples of Comnenian empress-costume given by Strzygowski, 563-4 is Eirene-Piroshka, wife of John II (not, as Strzygowski says, of Alexios I), on the Pala d'Oro. Eirene died nearly half a century before the marriage discussed here.
28. See, e.g., G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1968), 367-8.
29. Velmans, 103.
30. Belting, 27.
31. The genre is discussed by Hörandner, 73-109, and M. J. Jeffreys, "The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse", *DOP*, 28 (1974), 157-81.
32. Add to the works discussed in the citations of the previous note a poem tentatively dated by its editor after 1354, apparently referring to the accession of John Palaeologos to supreme power in that year (ed. S. P. Lambros, Μάρκου Ἀγγέλου ἀνέκδοτα στιχουργήματα, Νέος Ἑλλ., 3 [1906], 438-9).
33. Ed. I. Ševčenko, "Poems on the Deaths of Leo VI and Constantine VII in the Madrid Manuscript of Scylitzes", *DOP*, 23-4 (1969-70), 185-228.
34. E.g. Hörandner, poems XIII, XIV, XLIII; Mangana-codex items 21, 22, 23, 32, 33, 41 (some published, some half-published, some unpublished: E. Mioni, *Codices Graeci Manuscripti Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum*, III [Rome, 1973], 116-25).
35. Compare her date of departure, Easter 1179 (Ralph of Diceto, *Historical Works*, I, ed. W. Stubbs [London, 1876], 430-1), with the date of the marriage in Kodinos (Bonn ed.), 159.
36. Eustathius, 80.
37. Hörandner, poem XX.
38. *Ibid.*, line 55.
39. Of the "popular Greek poetry" of the Comnenian period, this may be the only poem written by somebody outside the normal frame of Byzantine education (unlike the Ptochoprodromic poems, where the language level seems to be varied at will, and Glykas, who is a fairly learned author willing to accept vernacular items in his work — see H. Eideneier, "Zur Sprache des Michael Glykas", *BZ*, 61 [1968], 5-9). As such it merits a special linguistic study. I shall confine myself here to comments of an introductory nature, based largely on

R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (London, 1969), 59-91.

40. Treated in one chapter by H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich, 1971), 101-9.

41. "Das 13. Jahrhundert ist eine literarisch verdünnte Übergangsperiode in der Geschichte dieser Literatur" (H.-G. Beck "Die griechische Volksliteratur des 14. Jahrhunderts", *XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Rapports I*, 67-8). An idea of the thin and doubtful material available may be gained from Beck, *Geschichte* (as in last note), 110-3.

42. Beck, *Geschichte*, 117-207; M. J. Jeffreys, "The Literary Emergence of Vernacular Greek", *Mosaic* (University of Manitoba), 8 (1975), 185-93. The possible exception is the romance of *Callimachos and Chryssorrhoe*, on which see the bibliography in Beck, *Geschichte*, 119, note 1.

43. See R. Lejeune, "La rôle littéraire d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine et sa famille", *Cultura Neolatina*, 14 (1954), 5-57. The literary connections between East and West at this date are discussed by E. M. Jeffreys, "The Comnenian Background to the romans d'antiquité" (forthcoming).

44. For ease of reference, the line-numbers are given in brackets before each line. They follow the system of Spatharakis, by folio number and hemistich: (5^F 13-14) Ἐκ ταύτης δὲ τῆς ὑπαντῆς τῆς φοβεράς, ὡς οἶμαι, (15-16) τῆς ἀνεκφράστου καὶ φρικτῆς, εἰς ὑπαντὴν ἑτέραν (17-18) φοβερωτέραν ἔρχομαι καὶ ὀλοανεκφραστοτέραν, (19-20) καὶ τρέμω μὴ ἐκ τὸ ἀνέκφραστον τῆς ὑπαντῆς ἐκεῖνο, (5^V 1-2) ραγῆ ἢ καρδία μου καὶ σπασθῆ καὶ ἀνασπασθῆ ἀπ' ἐμένα, (3-4) ἢ τίποτα ἐκ τὰ ἐπώδυνα γενῆ με τὰ μεγάλα. (5-6) Ἄλλ' ὅμως κἄν καὶ

κίνδυνος πολλὰ ἀπὸ τοὺς μεγάλους, (7-8) κἄν θάνατος ἐπώδυνος μὲ πρόκειται ἀπὸ τούτου, (9-10) καὶ ἀπαραιτῆτως ἐκ παντὸς χάνωμαι ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου, (11-12) τολμήσειν θέλω, ἀγούστα μου, τὰ τῆς τιμῆς σου πάντα, (13-14) κἄν εἴ τι θέλῃ μὲ συμβῆν, καταλεφτὸν νὰ γράψω.

45. See, e.g. Hörandner, XI, 11-20, XVII, 11-20, XIX, 1-10; Mangano-poet, *Theodori Prodromi De Manganis*, ed. S. Bernardinello (Padua, 1972), VI, 182-98, XII, 105-11; *Callimachos and Chryssorrhoe*, ed. M. Pichard (Paris, 1956), 280-1; *Achilleis*, MS N, ed. D. C. Hesselning (Amsterdam, 1919), 69, 96, 717, 778, etc.

46. The historical details of the narrative which follows are taken from F. Cognasso, "Partiti politici e lotte dinastiche in Bisanzio alla morte di Manuele Comneno", *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle scienze di Torino*, Ser. 2, vol. 62 (pt. 2) (1912), 213-317 (hereafter, Cognasso), especially 213-54; F. Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène (1118-1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143-1180)* (Paris, 1912), especially 555-608; C. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West 1180-1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968; hereafter, Brand), especially 1-75.

47. Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), 204.3-205.15 (Bonn ed., 267).

48. Cognasso, 221-2.

49. Cognasso, 215-6.

50. Cognasso, 216, 218-20.

51. Brand, 34-5.

52. Cognasso, 237-8.

53. Choniates (ed. van Dieten), 232.34-7 (Bonn ed., 302).

54. Cognasso, 245-6.

55. Choniates (ed. van Dieten), 259-73 (Bonn ed., 337-54).

56. Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1956), liii.
57. Here one may add a point to the signs of similarity seen by Papadimitriou between this poem and the speech of Eustathius to welcome Agnes: this image of two animate stars seems to be modeled on the meeting of Alexios and Agnes at Eustathius 87.1-7.
58. (4^Γ 15-16) ἀφ' ὧν τὸ μὲν τῆς Δύσεως ἦτον ἡ δόξα πάσης, (17-18) τὸ σὸν ἀεροκρυστάλλινον ἐμψυχωμένον σῶμα, (19-20) τὸ δὲ ἄλλο τὸ καὶ δεύτερον ὡς πρὸς τὸ σόν, αὐγούστα, (4^Υ 1-2) τὸ οὐκ ἔχον ὄλως σύγκρισιν με τὸ ἐδικόν σου κάλλος, (3-4) ἦτον τῆς ἀνδραδέλφης σου τῆς πορφυρογεννήτου.
59. Hörandner, XX.
60. Mangana-poet in *Griechische Geschichtsschreiber und Geschichtsquellen*, ed. C. Neumann (Leipzig, 1888), 65-8.
61. This point is repeated at 29-32, 39-43.
62. Repeated at 59-68.
63. E.g., to restrict reference to the work of Theodore Prodromos himself, Hörandner, I, 57-103 (imperialistic claims via John II's Hungarian wife) and XVIII, 97-108 (addressing Constantinople), found in a poem for the crowning of a co-Emperor and a poem of congratulation for an imperial victory against the Turks, respectively.
64. *Nicetae Choniatae orationes et epistulae*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten (Berlin, 1972), 44-6, preceded by a speech for the same occasion, 35-44.
65. A. Heisenberg, *Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit*, SBBay Phil.-Hist. Kl., Jahrg. 1920, Hft. 10, 96.
66. Strzygowski, 558-9.
67. Symbolically because it is plain from the text that the king did not accompany his daughter to Constantinople.
68. Belting, 28-9.
69. Spatharakis, 214-6.
70. Belting, 29.

The Later Greek Verse Romances:

A survey

Elizabeth Jeffreys

I propose here to describe briefly some of the characteristics of the verse romances of the Palaeologan period, to indicate the problems to which they give rise, and to discuss current solutions to these problems. I shall give particular emphasis to one set of solutions which seems to me to provide more complete and more convincing answers than any other, and at the same time includes the possibility for further insights into the style and nature of these texts. I should also add that many of my comments apply, in my opinion, to most of what is written in vernacular Greek during the fourteenth century, since the romances as well as being a recognizable genre in themselves, are in many ways conveniently representative of all early vernacular Greek verse. For I must point out that there is very little prose written at this time: as with the early stages of other vernacular literatures, the first steps were made in verse, in this case the fifteen syllable political line, the *dekapentasyllabos*.

First of all, the texts which I have in mind are works like *Callimachos and Chrysorrhoe*, *Belthandros and Chrysantza*, *Imberios and Margarona*, *Phlorios and Platzia-Phlora*, *Libistros and Rhodamne*, *Troas*, the *Achilleis*, the *War of Troy*.¹ As you might suspect from the titles, most deal with the adventures of a hero and heroine; the pairs meet under a variety of strange circumstances — often through the active intervention of Eros himself; they undergo a series of adventures and separations during which both parties are frequently threatened with death, and are finally re-united, to live happily ever after. All these couples are from princely families; the scene is normally set in a royal court and much use is made of palaces and ornate gardens which are often lavishly and lovingly described: palaces such as the *Drakontokastron* of *Callimachos*, the *Argyrokastron* of *Libistros* or the *Erotokastron* of *Belthandros*.² There are many signs of Western influence.³ For example, the dress of the protagonists is sometimes characterized as Frankish; *Libistros* has a Latin hairstyle — but then he is the prince τῶν Λατίνων *Belthandros* becomes liegeman (λίξιος) to the King of Antioch; *Achilles* and *Imberios* take part in tournaments. Then there is the whole question of the role of Eros, his influence over the lovers' actions, his fabulous dwellings, his interventions. His role is especially striking in *Belthandros* where he presides over what looks like an Imperial brideshow,⁴ and in *Libistros* where he terrifies the hero into submission. Does this owe anything to Western poems such as the *Fablel dou Dieu d'amours* or to the other *Débat* poems where *Amor*, in an elaborate setting, presides over a discussion on the relative merits of various types of lovers and issues commands to the participants? Do these romances in fact show any knowledge of Western ideas on courtly love, in the terminology that is used, in the way in which relationships between the sexes are depicted? For clear though the signs are of Western influence, these romances are nevertheless part of a long Greek tradition of novels, of which the parts most immediately relevant to *Libistros* and the like are the twelfth century romances of *Makrembolites*,

Prodromos, Eugenianos and Manasses. It is indeed not straightforward to disentangle Eastern from Western elements, for one must not be deceived by features which are apparently borrowed but which are in reality due to a common heritage from the clichés of classical antiquity. On the other hand, *Imberios* and *Phlorios* include far fewer exotic trimmings, but are versions of Western texts — a fairly free version of a French text in the case of *Imberios* and a reasonably close translation of an Italian one in the case of *Phlorios*.

Eros plays a conspicuous role also in the *Achilleis*, which is the story of how Achilles wooed and won an unnamed princess. Any connection with the Homeric story is purely coincidental: the hero of the romance happens to be called Achilles, and he happens to have a friend called Patroclus. Otherwise the *Achilleis* is a romance in the manner of *Libistros* or *Belthandros*: there are fantastic gardens and palaces, and dangers for the hero and heroine to overcome. Equally tenuous are the Homeric connections of the short romance *Troas*. The poem is a jumble of odd snippets and curiosities, of which one of the more startling is the spectacle of Paris courting Helen, playing *hiskithara* and disguised as a monk. The sources seem to range from Constantine Manasses to Isaac Porphyrogenetos via Tzetzes' prose introduction to *Iliad* — but are a hopelessly confused mish-mash.⁵ Perhaps the *War of Troy* gives a good demonstration of the conflicts in the background of these romances. It deals with a Greek theme par excellence — the preliminaries to the Greek expedition to Troy, the siege and capture of the city and the wanderings of the Greek leaders on their return. It touches on the clearly acceptable subjects of exotic buildings, whether palaces or tombs; and has extended passages of romantic interest, dealing with the relationships between Jason and Medea, Troilus and Briseida, Achilles and Polyxena. But it does so through a French model. The poet of the *War of Troy* has translated with considerable faithfulness the whole of Benoit de Ste. Maure's *Roman de Troie* into Greek vernacular verse. That this multi-cultural approach was appreciated is indicated by the fact that the romance survives in seven manuscripts, with the existence of seven others easily proved. This is an extensive textual tradition for works of this type.

We know regrettably little about the authors of these works. The poems are all anonymous — nowhere in the manuscripts is a claim for authorship made and the rare scribal signatures add no information about authors. The *War of Troy* makes statements in the first person singular, but they have been prompted by the French original and the translator has in fact concealed the name Benoit which appears not infrequently in the French. Was he conscious that the genre in which he was working preferred anonymity, or did he wish to conceal his debt to a recent writer? The one exception to this rule of anonymity is *Callimachos*, for an epigram by Manuel Philes allows one to be reasonably certain that this romance was written by Andronikos Komnenos, second son of the Sevastokrator Constantine, brother of Michael VIII Palaeologos.⁶ But in *Callimachos*, as in the other romances, the story is narrated impersonally and one can draw no conclusions about the author on internal evidence alone.

When it comes to dating these poems *Callimachos* again is the only one for which positive suggestions can be made. Michel Pichard in his edition argues for a date between 1310 and 1340, based on what is known of the activities of Andronikos — this seems not unreasonable.⁷ *Libistros* is mentioned in Mazaris' satire on court life, and so must have been written before 1418.⁸ The *War of Troy* uses Manasses' *Synopsis Historike* and possibly knew Tzetzes' *Allegories on the*

Iliad; these are texts which were also used by Constantine Hermoniakos who was paraphrasing Homer and Tzetzes in the 1320's.⁹ The *War of Troy* also shares some vocabulary and stylistic traits with the *Chronicle of the Morea* which was likewise produced in the 1320's.¹⁰ These two facts incline one to put this romance also into the same period. But it is hard to find for any of the remaining romances even such imprecise indications as these. Not even the existence of a Western model is of great help. The date of the *Cantare di Fiorio*, the original of *Phlorios*, is disputed,¹¹ and *Pierre de Provence*, the ultimate source of *Imberios*, circulated widely throughout Europe and the date of its first appearance cannot be pinpointed.¹² Father Loenertz, however, in one of his last articles, in a recent volume of *Thesaurismata*¹³ made an interesting identification for one of the key figures in the main tournament, and associated even the French version with the Greek mainland. But one can draw no more precise conclusion than that these romances belong to the fourteenth century.

There are few hints as to the areas in which they were written. Apart from the case of *Callimachos*, noted above, such evidence as there is, like the connections between the *War of Troy* and the *Chronicle of the Morea*, points to the provinces rather than Constantinople itself. The romances are likely to be produced on the fringes of the Byzantine world: they are products of the dissolution of the fabric of Byzantine society.

I must admit at once that this group of texts is not great literature. You will be disappointed if you turn to them for a delicate use of language, for subtle delineation of character or deep insights into human emotion. You will find instead conventionally improbable plots, brightly coloured but cardboard scenery, couched in the jog-trot rhythms of the political verse with a repetitious vocabulary. These texts are usually treated as sources for linguistic data — as they were by Psicharis and Chatzidakis, for example; or, reasonably enough as a means for measuring the literary interaction of East and West, as they were by Gidel, or most recently by Carolina Cupane; or as sociological documents as Hunger has done in his studies on *Belthandros* and *Callimachos*, or Peter Pieler in his discussion of the attitudes they display towards institutions.¹⁴ There have been few attempts to evaluate them in literary terms, or to understand their stylistic peculiarities. Yet the romances are one of the largest groups of early material in a language which approaches modern spoken Greek. They are a significant part of the history of the modern language at the stage when it began to emerge onto the page in a written form. If we can understand some of the forces which have brought these texts into being, then we can acquire a better understanding of some of the factors governing the early history of the modern language.

These texts present some notorious problems, which revolve around their language and their style.

First of all, the language. The romances show a wide and somewhat surprising range of grammatical forms, with two or even more possible ways of expressing a single grammatical idea. At a simple level, the preposition από has an alternative ἀπέ; proper names can appear as Ἰμπερίος or Ἰμπερής. Slightly more complicatedly, πατέρας can have an alternative nominative πατήρ; πόλις can have as genitives πόλεως, πόλης or πολέου. The most frequent examples, however, concern verbs, where in the third person plural the endings -ουν and -ουσι occur almost equally frequently, as do the singular past tense passive forms like -θη and -θηκε. A similar situation exists in the syntax; participles, for

example, found in a variety of forms ranging from ancient to modern, with some that are peculiarly medieval, are used in genitive absolutes, in clauses following verbs of perception, adjectivally and so on.¹⁵ It is as though these texts demonstrate in themselves the whole sweep of Greek linguistic theory from the New Testament to modern times. Is this mixture in fact a random one, or can one see a development? Do the romances that on other grounds seem to be later in date show a larger proportion of more modern forms? Psicharis, in the bitter controversies over the language question at the end of the last century, thought that one could see such a progression, and therefore argued that here was the spoken language of the period visibly developing in these written remains; the mixture was thus one that was spoken. Chatzidakis, on the other hand, pointed out that many of these so-called modern forms could be attested from papyri centuries earlier. In his view the archaic elements were due to the inability of popular poets to free themselves from the shackles of the learned language in which they had learned to read and write.¹⁶

Then too there are no dialect markers in these romances. It is not possible to use internal linguistic evidence to argue for a particular region of origin for any of these poets. The *Chronicle of the Morea* is a good example. The poem deals with nothing but Moreot local history; it can only be a product of the Greek mainland; but change the names and there is nothing in the language to tell you in which part of the world it originated. Yet we know from other evidence that most of the modern dialects had begun to form by the fourteenth century.¹⁷ Why is there no sign of them here?

Next, the style. I have said already that it is monotonous and repetitious. Monotony involves a value judgement, but repetitiousness is something that can be listed and measured. In these texts one can find lines and half-lines, and not infrequently passages of two or three lines, repeated both within an individual poem, and in several. The hero for example, leaps on his horse -- πηδᾶ, καβαλλικεύει; the whole company, μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι, gathers together; the hero begins a conversation, τοιαῦτα συντυχαίνει; is the hero angry? no-one dare ask: τινὰς μηδὲν ἤρωτα; and so on. It is a feature that has long been noted, usually with irritation. For though Hesseling remarked à propos of the *Achilleis* as long ago as 1914 that these repetitions have all the signs of belonging to a group of bards similar to the Homeric rhapsodes,¹⁸ the repetitions lack the charm and archaic qualities of the Homeric mannerisms; Hesseling's remarks, so far as I know, were not followed up at this stage by himself, or any one else.

But at the same time these texts present innumerable variants in the manuscripts. If a poem is preserved in more than one manuscript, then each version will be noticeably different.¹⁹ The Oxford versions of *Imberios* and the *Achilleis*, for example, are perhaps extreme instances, for these are both highly condensed and very difficult to reconcile in detail with the Vienna and Naples versions of those poems. A more normal situation is found in the *War of Troy* or the pseudo-historical *Betisarios*, where the texts run in parallel for line after line with only small variations in individual words. But even where the total number of lines in any two manuscript versions remains approximately the same, single words will have been changed, half-lines will have been rewritten and even passages of several lines will have been recast. At the very least the scribes copying these texts had felt free to adapt the versions as they pleased.²⁰ All this makes an editor's task today somewhat complex. What has caused these variations?

The conventional reaction to these problems has, on the whole, been one of puzzlement, but inclining to the views of Chatzidakis. The mixed language of these texts, though plainly closely connected with the vernacular, could not truly represent the spoken language of the day: more likely it represents the inadequate attempts of the half-educated to struggle with the complexities of recording the popular language in a writing system designed for the learned. In 1969 Robert Browning remained puzzled as he summed up the situation: "The existence in early vernacular literature of so many alternative verbal forms poses problems to which at present we can give no answer. The purist forms may be eliminated as due to scholarly and literary influence. But *did-oun* and *-ousi*, *-oton* and *-otan* really coexist in living speech?"²¹

In 1971 Hans-Georg Beck published his history of Byzantine popular literature, which updates the relevant chapters of Krumbacher's standard work. Here and also in a paper given in the Congress at Bucharest that same year, he stood the old assumptions on their heads and made a new proposal.²² He pointed out that the twelfth-century experiments in the use of the vernacular, which had come to nothing, had been led by highly educated men who were prominent in court circles. The values implied in the fourteenth-century texts, the characters used, the settings for the plots also revolved around a princely and courtly milieu. Surely then it is not unlikely that the pressures for the new style that appears with the romances came not from "below", from the uneducated, the semi-literate lower classes, but from "above", from educated men who were consciously investigating a new medium and new stylistic possibilities. Professor Beck's view is not without its attractions but has, it seems to me, at least two major stumbling blocks. First, he surely underestimates the linguistic competence of the hypothetical learned experimenters with the vernacular. One would like to think that such people, who had been rigorously trained in their conventional education to filter out vulgarisms and write only purist forms, could then reverse the process rather more competently than the random mix of the romances seems to suggest. Secondly, he seems also to under-estimate the role of patronage in influencing the values of a work. Most vernaculars when they first emerge onto paper show a preoccupation with kings and courts. This does not necessarily mean that they were produced by a king or a courtier (nor admittedly does it exclude it). What it does indicate is that it was at a court that the poet whose work has survived expected to find an audience, and his pay.

I would like now to suggest that there is another explanation to the problems of the romances and early vernacular literature in Greek in general which provides more satisfactory answers than previously proposed solutions.

Let me return to the mixed language and its range of forms. This brings to mind the language mix of Homer, where an improbable range of dialects and grammatical forms coexists in the Homeric poems as we now have them. Milman Parry clearly and ably demonstrated in the 1930's that this was the result of the pressures of oral re-composition. Linguistic forms were retained, even if archaic and not generally used in normal speech, if they were metrically useful to an oral poet. They were built into blocks of repeated phrases — formulas — which became a vital tool in the poet's recreation of the traditional story he was telling. Centuries of development lay behind the Homeric style. How Parry extended his observations to the oral traditions of South Serbia, which in the 1930's were still living, and how Albert Lord developed the material that was collected, is a well

known story.²³ So too is the way in which in the 1950's and 1960's the discovery of Parry's discussions of the oral formulaic style and the technique of formula analysis affected the study of medieval vernaculars. Here F. P. Magoun on *Beowulf* was seminal, J. Rychner on the *chanson de geste* caused a furore and a spate of articles and books flooded out, not all carefully argued and many with dubious methodology. J. J. Duggan stands out as an example of sound statistical method, though his conclusions are sometimes debatable. Not surprisingly there were many who were unwilling to accept that much of medieval vernacular literature was the orally composed product of an illiterate bard. Maurice Delbouille and Italo Siciliano are prominent amongst the sceptics. As the heat dies down it seems however that most people will accept that there is a considerable proportion of traditional and oral elements in early vernacular literatures, whose function still needs to be explored.²⁴

Why should the early Greek vernacular be an exception, not subject to a development which seems not only pan-European but even world-wide? There is now a huge scholarly output on oral-formulaic styles in literatures ranging from those of pre-Islamic Arabia through to the Indian and Russian epics.²⁵ In 1963, prompted by the appearance of the *Singer of Tales* with its comments on *Digenis Akritas*, C.A. Trypanis published a brief paper pointing out that the manuscript variants of the *Achilleis*, for example, looked like the separate recordings of orally composed texts. This position he maintained later in a review of Trapp's controversial edition of *Digenis*;²⁶ but he has not, as far as I know, followed up these general remarks with any detailed discussion.

Let us consider now a text which is not a romance though I have mentioned it several times already, for it shares their language, repetitious style and metre. This is the *Chronicle of the Morea*, which gives the history of the Frankish Morea in a somewhat dubious fashion from shortly before the foundation of the principality until the early years of the fourteenth century. It is a poem which has been castigated for its appallingly banal style, its impoverished vocabulary, and its bizarre mixture of linguistic forms; all these infelicities are conventionally attributed to the incompetence of its ill-educated author, who nonetheless manages to show a grasp of a wide range of Greek grammar.²⁷ Michael Jeffreys has analysed this poem in some detail and shown that there is a system behind many of these oddities.²⁸ Making a computer-generated concordance he was able to list all the repeated lines and half-lines in the *Chronicle* and a number of the romances, taking as the minimum unit of repetition a complete half-line of political verse, that is, a unit of either seven or eight syllables, from either side of the caesura. He permitted only small degrees of variation, much on the lines suggested by Duggan in his analysis of the *Couronnement de Louis* and other French texts. The final figures reached were that 31.7% (or 38.4% if a slightly more relaxed standard of repetition were permitted) of the *Chronicle* was repeated. The *Alexander* poem, in the same metre, of approximately the same length and very close in date, but in a more formal language, was similarly analysed, and produced 12.0% or 16.0% of repeated lines. There was thus a significant difference in the style of these two poems which had been revealed by the count of the repeated lines. Using the Parry-Lord thesis, one would argue that the poem with the significantly larger number of repeated lines is highly formulaic, is using these formulas as an aid to composition, and is closely connected with a traditional, oral type of composition. Michael Jeffreys has also been able to show a significant degree of metrical

economy where certain pairs of grammatical forms which are each metrically appropriate to different areas of the line are usually found in those areas.²⁹

A formula count has also now been made for the *War of Troy*, using the recently completed though as yet unpublished critical edition of the text. Here a different technique was employed from that used for the *Chronicle*. The text was read for a list of the common formulas. It was found that 38 phrases are repeated 12 times or more, compared with 26 repeated as many times or more in the *Chronicle*. In addition 3 sample passages, each of 50 lines were chosen, and the rest of the text searched for parallels. The final overall figure for the *War of Troy* is that 29.3% of the samples is repeated. This figure is in fact on the low side, for there is a marked change in style around line 11,000 and the formula content drops conspicuously. On metrical grounds however it is impossible to argue that there has been a change of author for the last 3000 lines. For the first 11,000 lines the *War of Troy* is 38% formulaic, that is, it is as formulaic as any of the French texts analysed by Duggan.³⁰ But although the *Chronicle of the Morea* is an original Greek poem,³¹ the *War of Troy* is not. As I mentioned earlier, it is a translation of Benoit de Ste. Maure's *Roman de Troie*. It was indubitably written by the poet, pen in hand, French text open beside him, for one can very frequently correct the Greek version from the French or use the French to select the correct reading from a stemmatically equal choice of readings in the Greek. According to Lord's discussion of the techniques of oral poetry, this is impossible: no oral poet that Lord has observed in modern Yugoslavia has become literate and retained his skill in the composition of traditional songs.³² Literacy and traditional techniques of oral composition are therefore incompatible. Medievalists however can point to clear examples of formulaic translations,³³ of which the *War of Troy* is perhaps the longest and the most recently available. Lord, as Michael Jeffreys has pointed out elsewhere,³⁴ is surely guilty of false analogies between modern and medieval society, between pre- and post-Gutenberg Europe. The literate and incompetent poets of Yugoslavia had been taught to read from, among other things, printed and therefore fixed versions of the songs often in their own oral repertoire. Small wonder that they were confused. In medieval Europe, literacy would have been acquired via the learned language (Latin or Greek, as the case may be), and copies of vernacular texts were rare. The poet of the *War of Troy* would have had difficulty in finding and reading a romance in the style he was using and he certainly could not, to state the obvious, have read and been corrupted by the *War of Troy* before he had written it. We would argue, as we have done in a recent study on the style of the *War of Troy*, that in the medieval situation literacy is no barrier to competence in a traditional and formulaic style of composition. It seems increasingly unlikely that any manuscript of a medieval vernacular text is an oral dictated text (for one thing, the technical difficulties before the days of tape recorders were considerable). On the other hand there seems to be increasing evidence for "transitional" texts, that is works *written* in the traditional style by poets who are steeped in the language and formulas of this genre of poetry. This is at any rate clearly the case for the *Chronicle of the Morea* and the *War of Troy*. Lord may say that he knows of no such "transitional" texts in his Yugoslav experience — but this only shows again that Yugoslav poets may shed light on medieval methods but do not provide all the answers. Some of Lord's recent attempts to redefine formulas in such a way as to exclude "transitional" works are guilty of circular reasoning.³⁵

Having said all this, let me return to the problems of the romances and their kindred texts. To my mind the answers now fall into place. The mixed language is one of the elements of a traditional style that had its origin in techniques of oral composition. The mixture developed — or different forms were retained — because it was a useful aid to composition to have alternatives available for use in different metrical circumstances. A *Kunstsprache* thus evolved, spoken by no-one, but used in certain well understood circumstances and for certain categories of literature. It was satisfactorily comprehensible to the society of the time. The lack of dialect follows from the traditional and universal nature of the style.

The repetitions are the formulas of this style; they are the building blocks which aid the poet to construct his work rapidly. They are traditional in their style, and perhaps also in their content. At present their existence has been shown convincingly in the *Chronicle of the Morea*, the *War of Troy* and in the group *Imberios*, the *Achilleis*, *Phlorios*, with the addition of *Belisarios*.³⁶ The next step in the analysis is to define their function in these texts: what elements, for example, are found in one poem only? what are common to several? what does this reveal about the relationships between the poems? can one distinguish an individual poet's idiosyncracies? can one see what belongs to the tradition as a whole?

The variants in the manuscript versions are the result of scribes facing a text which they know belongs to a fluid and orally based tradition. They were familiar with its conventions, had probably themselves heard many poems in the style and very likely felt that they had every right to contribute to the example in front of them. *MS A* of the *War of Troy* is an extreme instance of this attitude; at times the scribe, who is normally capable of accurate copying, takes off and produces line after line of rewritten verse.³⁷ To some extent each scribe is a poet in the tradition. This adds to the complexities of unravelling the tradition, for not only has one to see each poet's contribution, one has to distinguish the scribal interventions too. This is important since three manuscripts — in Vienna, Naples and Oxford — preserve a significant number of the romances.³⁸

The metre — the fifteen syllable political verse — is the metre of the tradition. Its role as a factor in the development of the language mixture is one that has shown up in the analyses of formulas, and needs to be examined more fully. For how long has this metre exerted pressures on the language? Plainly in the twelfth century the political line was the vehicle for popular verse even if little survives from that date — but how much earlier does its history extend?³⁹

I am suggesting then that with the romances and much of early vernacular Greek verse one is dealing with a traditional style, which has been transmitted by orally composed songs. We are dealing with the written remains of a style which developed for oral and ephemeral purposes. I said earlier that the solutions I would favour would solve problems, and it seems to me that one can now understand more easily features which are tedious to the modern ear and eye. But this solution also, as I have been indicating, poses a whole new set of problems and questions, or rather opens up a whole new line of research. For investigations of the type I have been describing have barely started in medieval Greek and we have barely begun to understand how this poetic technique functions.⁴⁰

To achieve this understanding sound editions of the relevant texts are essential. There was a heart-felt plea for these by Manoussakas as far back as 1953,⁴¹ when he argued that critical editions for these texts — despite the obvious problems caused by the variants — were both desirable and possible. He has set a good and a

bad example simultaneously: good, by putting into practise for *Libistros* his ideas on critical editions and working out the stemmatic relationship of all the manuscripts — bad, by not publishing his text. Kriaras used all the available manuscripts for his edition of the romances in 1956,⁴² but did so somewhat unsystematically, and inclusively rather than critically. Now however it seems that a flood of editions is about to burst upon us. Ole L. Smith has an edition of the *Achilleis* well advanced; Guiseppe Spadaro has been preparing an edition of *Phlorios* for some years now; Arnold van Gemert has an edition of *Belisarios* well under way; Manolis Papathomopoulos and I have completed the *War of Troy* and I have also *Imberios*⁴³ nearly finished. There is every reason to hope that within a few years all these texts will be available in a reasonable reconstruction of the original version, with the variants fully recorded. May I perhaps point out from my experience with the *War of Troy* that a critical edition is still a viable aim, even when dealing with a work written in a traditional style. Though the *War of Troy* was subject to scribal recomposition there is no doubt that the resultant variants were made in the course of copying, and it has proved possible, by using lacunae and gross common errors, to trace the manuscript relationship in a way that was useful for the reconstruction of the text. One must admit that the existence of the French original was a boon, and without it many more cruces would have remained unsolved. But plainly, when work currently in progress is completed, future analyses of the romances will have a firm textual foundation.

To sum up then, examination of the vernacular romances and other works in early demotic in terms of a traditional oral-formulaic style promises to bring helpful insights into the genesis of both the language and the literature. But one must be careful not to make too many generalisations. *Digenis Akritas*, which I have refrained from mentioning till now, might look like a splendid example, of a traditional story — and it probably is a traditional story — but it has been transferred to a written form in such a way that it cannot be analysed in the manner I have been describing.⁴⁴

Footnotes

1. Discussions of these poems and bibliographies to 1971 are given in H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich, 1971; hereafter, Beck, *Volksliteratur*), 115-53; bibliography from 1971 to 1979 is collected by E. M. Jeffreys, "The Popular Byzantine Verse Romances of Chivalry: Work since 1971", *Mantatoforos*, 14 (1979), 20-34.

2. See O. Schissel, *Der byzantinische Garten*, BSWien, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1942, 30-62.

3. See C. Cupane, "Ἔρωσ

Βασιλεύς: La figura di Eros nel romanzo bizantino d'amore", *Atti di Scienze, Lett. e Arti di Palermo*, ser. IV, vol. XXXIII (1973-4), parte II, fasc. II, 243-97; *eadem*, "Il motivo del castello nella narrativa tardo-bizantina. Evoluzione di un allegoria", *ἸΩΒ*, 27 (1978), 229-68; for an alternative view, see E. M. Jeffreys, *The Question of Western influence on the Early Demotic Verse Romances* (unpublished B. Litt. thesis, Oxford, 1970).

4. H. Hunger, "Die Schönheitskonkurrenz in 'Belthandros und

- Chrysantza' und die Brautschau am byzantinischen Kaiserhof", *Byzantion*, 35 (1965), 150-8.
5. L. Norgaard Smith and O. L. Smith, *A Byzantine Iliad* (Copenhagen, 1975), do not consider sources seriously; but see R. Browning, "Homer in Byzantium", *Viator*, 8 (1975), 31-2 and E. M. Jeffreys, "The Judgement of Paris in Late Byzantine Literature", *Byzantion*, 48 (1978), 115-17.
6. Beck, *Volksliteratur*, 124.
7. M. Pichard, *Le Roman de Callimaque et Chrysorrhoe* (Paris, 1956), xxviii.
8. Beck, *Volksliteratur*, 125.
9. E. M. Jeffreys, "Constantine Hermoniakos and Byzantine Education", *Dodone*, 4 (1975), 82-109.
10. E. M. and M. J. Jeffreys, "The Traditional Style of Early Demotic Verse", *BMGS*, 5 (1979), 115-139.
11. Beck, *Volksliteratur*, 139-40.
12. Beck, *Volksliteratur*, 144-5.
13. J. Loenertz, "La Belle Maguelonne ou le fondement historique d'un roman de chevalerie", *Thesaurismata*, 13 (1976), 40-6.
14. J. Psicharis, *Essais de grammaire néo-grecque*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886-9); G. N. Chatzidakis, *Σύντομος Ιστορία τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Γλώσσης* (Athens, 1915); C. Gidel, *Études sur la littérature grecque moderne* (Paris, 1866); C. Cupane, *Ερως βασιλεύς* (as in note 4); H. Hunger, on *Belthandros*, see note 3; *idem*, on *Callimachos*, see "Un roman byzantin et son atmosphère: Callimaque et Chrysorrhoe", *TM*, 3 (1968), 405-22; P. Pieler, "Recht, Gesellschaft und Staat im byzantinischen Roman der Palaiologenzeit", *JÖB*, 20 (1971), 189-221.
15. The best discussion in English is R. Browning, *Mediaeval and Modern Greek* (London, 1969; hereafter, Browning, *Greek*), especially 73-91.
16. Browning, *Greek*, 18.
17. Browning, *Greek*, 125.
18. D. C. Hesselring, *L'Achilléide Byzantine* (Amsterdam, 1919), 14.
19. As in other medieval vernaculars; cf. H. Hunger *et al.*, *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung* (Zurich, 1961).
20. H.-G. Beck, "Der Leserkreis der byzantinischen 'Volksliteratur' im Licht der handschriftlichen Überlieferung", *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, 1975), 47-67.
21. Browning, *Greek*, 85.
22. Beck, *Volksliteratur*, 4-8, 125 and "Die griechische Volksliteratur des 14. Jahrhunderts", *Proceedings of the 14th International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Bucharest, 1971, Rapports*, I, 67-83.
23. Milman Parry's work is most conveniently available in A. Parry, ed., *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry* (Oxford, 1971), while A. B. Lord's main statements are contained in *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960).
24. See F. P. Magoun, "Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry", *Speculum*, 28 (1953), 446-67; J. Rychner, *La chanson de geste, essai sur l'art épique des jongleurs* (Geneva-Lille, 1955); J. J. Duggan, "Formulas in the Couronnement de Louis", *Romania*, 87 (1966), 315-46, and *idem*, *The Song of Roland. Formulaic Style and Poetic Craft* (Berkeley—Los Angeles,

- 1973); M. Delbouille, "Les chansons de geste et le livre", in *La Technique littéraire des chansons de geste* (Actes de Colloque de Liège, Paris, 1959), 295-407; I. Siciliano, *Les chansons de geste et l'épopée* (Turin, 1969), 137-99. For a general discussion of traditional poetry, see R. Finnegan, *Oral Poetry* (Cambridge, 1977) *passim*.
25. E. R. Haynes, *Bibliography of Oral Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973).
26. C. A. Trypanis, "Byzantine Oral Poetry", *BZ*, 56 (1968), 1-3; the review of Trapp's edition appeared in *Gnomon*, 45 (1973), 614-16.
27. H. E. Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors: the Chronicle of the Morea* (New York, 1964), 42.
28. M. J. Jeffreys, "Formulas in the 'Chronicle of the Morea'", *DOP*, 27 (1973), 163-95.
29. *Idem*, *Studies in the Chronicle of the Morea* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1972), 112-6 and Tables X-XI.
30. These figures are taken from the Introduction to the critical edition established by E. M. Jeffreys and M. Papathomopoulos. It is planned to publish separately the tables on which they are based.
31. M. J. Jeffreys, "The Chronicle of the Morea: priority of the Greek version", *BZ*, 68 (1975), 305-50.
32. A. B. Lord, "Homer as Oral Poet", *HSCP*, 72 (1967), 13.
33. E.g. L. D. Benson, "The Literary character of Anglo-Saxon formulaic poetry", *PMLA*, 81 (1966), 334-46; A. B. Baugh, "Improvisation in the Middle English Romance", *ProcAmPhilSoc*, 103 (1959), 431-4.
34. M. J. Jeffreys, "The Literary Emergence of Vernacular Greek", *Mosaic*, 8 (1975), 186.
35. Cf. J. D. Smith, "The Singer or the Song? A reassessment of Lord's Oral Theory", *Man*, 12 (1977), 141-53.
36. See M. J. Jeffreys, "Formulas" (as in note 23); and E. M. and M. J. Jeffreys, "Imberios and Margarona: the manuscripts, sources and edition of a Byzantine verse romance", *Byzantion*, 41 (1971), 122-60.
37. *MS A* = Paris, Coislin 344; cf. lines 6032-6142.
38. See the comments of M. K. Chatziyiakoumis, *Tà Μεσαιωνικά Δημώδη Κείμενα* (Athens, 1977).
39. For a discussion of the history of the verse, see M. J. Jeffreys, "The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse", *DOP*, 28 (1974), 141-95.
40. For a sceptical attitude towards this line of argument, see G. Spadaro, "Problemi relativi ai romanzi greci dell'età dei Palaiologi", *Hellenika*, 28 (1975), 302-27 and *ibid.*, 29 (1976) 278-31; and *idem*, "L'inedito Polemos tis Troados e l'Achilleide", *BZ*, 71 (1978), 1-9.
41. M. Manoussacas, "Les romans byzantins de chevalerie et l'état présent des études les concernant", *RÉB*, 10 (1952), 70-83.
42. E. Kriaras, *Βυζαντινά Ἰπποτικά Μυθιστορήματα* (Athens, 1956).
43. *Achilleis*: O. L. Smith, in a paper read at the Tenth Byzantine Symposium, Birmingham, 1976; *Phlorios*: G. Spadaro, "Per una nuova edizione di Florios ke Platzia-Flora", *BZ*, 67 (1974), 64-74; *Belisarios*: A. van Gemert, "The new manuscript of the History of Belisarios", *Folia Neohellenica*, 1 (1975), 45-72; *War of Troy*: E. M. Jeffreys, "The manuscripts and sources of the War of Troy", *Proceedings of the 14th International*

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Congress of Byzantine Studies, Bucharest, 1971, III (Bucharest, 1976), 91-4 and M. Papathomopoulos, "Διωρθώσεις στον Πόλεμο της Τρωάδος", *Dodone*, 5 (1976), 349-68; *Imberios*: E. M. Jeffreys, "Some comments on the manuscripts of *Imberios*", *Hellenika*, 27 (1974), 39-48.

44. See the discussion of manuscript relations by E. Trapp, *Digenes Akrites: Synoptische Ausgabe der ältesten Versionen* (Vienna, 1971), and the comments by M. J. Jeffreys, "Digenis Akritas: Manuscript Z", *Dodone*, 4 (1975), 163-201.

Bessarion before the Council of Florence

A survey of his early writings (1423-1437)

E.J. Stormon, S.J.

Ludwig Mohler, in his fundamental and nearly definitive study of Cardinal Bessarion, sees in him a uniquely harmonious blend of the Eastern and Western cultures, which, given the long rupture and many tensions between the Byzantine and Latin worlds, stands out as practically miraculous.¹ Here we have, in Lorenzo Valla's epigram, one who is "Latinorum græcissimus, Græcorum latinissimus" (a point which would have been more happily made, one might think, with the phrases in reverse order). As a generalization the judgment must stand, though not at the expense of forgetting similar combinations of culture in Bessarion's less illustrious friend, Theodore of Gaza, and other Greeks who had settled in Italy, not to mention earlier and partial approximations in the "Latinophrone" humanist scholars, Demetrios Cydones and Manuel Chrysoloras.

However, before becoming a mediator between the two great historic cultures (a position only gradually obtained in the years following the Council of Florence, when, after a brief interval, he took up permanent residence in Italy as a Roman cardinal), Bessarion belonged entirely to the Byzantine world: it was there that he received his formation, religious, literary, and philosophical, and first entered on public activities, and it was within this milieu that his early writings (on which he looked with paternal fondness in later life) were composed. During these Byzantine years he had some idea, as we shall see, of what was going on in the West, but he had far less acquaintance with Latin theology, philosophy, and literature, than his friend of that time, George Scholarios, and indeed may have had no direct acquaintance with such matters at all, except for some knowledge, probably less than intimate, of parts of St. Thomas Aquinas in a Greek translation.²

In the most obvious sense, the Council of Florence (1438-39) constitutes the great watershed of his career. At the same time, he certainly approached that Council with dispositions notably different from those of his senior fellow-orator, Mark Eugenikos, in spite of the fact that both were monks, and had, at different times certainly, studied under some, if not all of the same masters, and must have been exposed to many of the same influences.³ We must bring home to ourselves that, although there was only one Greek monastic order, there were many different kinds of monks, and many different tendencies at work among them (although the numbers representing these tendencies were far from equally divided). One could be dedicated to the mystical ideals and theological teaching of Gregory Palamas (as was Mark), or one could, in spite of the official approval given in the previous century, be suspicious of them, as we shall see that Bessarion and others were. One could be devoted to the Greek humanistic tradition, and cultivate it in combination with Christian principles and practice, or, with the Athonite monks, and probably the majority in other centres, be profoundly distrustful, and indeed ignorant of Hellenism in its more ancient or recent forms. One could take different views of the history, value, and purpose of the Byzantine

Empire; of the nature of the Italian Renaissance; of relations with the West or the Ottoman Turkish Empire. And there could of course be many different combinations of views on these subjects.

What kind of a monk, what kind of a man, was Bessarion, before his crucial experience of Western theology and Western culture generally, at Ferrara-Florence, and in the following years? The answer must lie, in part, in the known facts of his earlier life, but more particularly in the characteristics revealed by his early writings.

The biographical facts have been repeatedly and closely examined, and will be dealt with here only in a summary form, to provide a kind of framework for the writings. These have so far received a good deal less attention — possibly because, although most have been edited, they have never been brought together, and must be searched for in several very disparate sources.

The only name by which Bessarion is known is a “religious” one, which he would have adopted on the occasion of his monastic clothing, in 1423,⁴ in memory of an early Egyptian saint — henceforth his patron. We have no indication of his family name, and conjectures about his Christian name (John? Basil?) have now been shown as groundless.⁵ We know by his own statement, as well as those of three contemporary panegyrists, that he was born in Trebizond, the small Greek Empire founded towards the east of the northern shore of Asia Minor by a branch of the Comnenos family, after the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 (although Bessarion himself insists rather on its remoter origins.)⁶ The date of his birth is usually taken as 2 January 1403, and, although the immediate evidence for this is insecure, it fits in well enough with a statement made by Bessarion in later years.⁷

As a boy in Trebizond, he came under the notice of the Metropolitan Dositheos, who was appointed to this high-ranking see in 1415, but was forced, apparently under political pressure, to retire to Constantinople soon afterwards, in 1416 or 1417.⁸ He seems to have taken the promising lad with him, to further his education in the great capital, and indeed Bessarion may have remained under his general patronage for many years to come.⁹ There would have been the usual early studies in grammar and rhetoric, but a decisive step was taken when he was placed under the tutelage of the Archbishop of Selymbria, who, given the troubled nature of the times, probably resided in Constantinople, and from there directed a number of monastic centres. This man, who has now been identified as John (Ignatius) Chortasmenos, seems to have been a kind of “mirror of monks”, as well as being a writer of some distinction and a bibliophile. Bessarion remembered him with affection and respect even in much later life (a fact of which his Roman panegyrists, Platina and Capranica, were aware), and there is reason to think that, besides being the chief religious influence during Bessarion’s formative years, he was also a guide to his early literary and philosophical studies.¹⁰

From evidence supplied by Bessarion himself, we know that he formally entered the monastic order in 1423 (at the age of twenty, if our date for his birth is correct). He became a deacon in 1425. During these years in Constantinople, possibly concurrently with his studies under Chortasmenos, he attended the school run by George Chrysokokkes, where he had as fellow-students the Italian humanist Filelfo, and probably George Scholarios.¹¹ Between 1425 and 1427 he seems to have taken part in at least one of the diplomatic missions sent by the

Emperor of Constantinople (John VIII) to the Emperor of Trebizond (Alexios IV).¹² In 1430 he was ordained priest, and soon afterwards, possibly in 1431, he followed his patron Dositheos, who had been appointed to the see of Monembasia by this time, into the Peloponnesus.¹³ Bessarion, however, took up residence at Mistra, a Frankish foundation near Sparta, but now the Greek capital of Theodore II, brother of John VIII of Constantinople. The chief attraction here, undoubtedly, was the philosopher, mathematician, and man of letters, George Gemistos Pletho, whom Bessarion then and later regarded as a kind of *Plato redivivus*, and from whom he received a deep initiation into Platonic and neo-Platonic thought, and some mathematical and astronomical training.¹⁴

Evidently he found time also to play a part in court circles, where he seems to have been on close terms with Theodore II, and members of some of the leading families in the Greek Peloponnesus.¹⁵ Capranica, in his funeral oration of 1472, credits him with having reconciled the Palaeologan brothers, John and Theodore, whom we know to have been at odds over the future succession to the throne in Constantinople.¹⁶ From the same source we know that John appointed Bessarion as head of the important monastery of St. Basil in Constantinople, possibly in 1436. In 1437 he was promoted as Archbishop to the titular see of Nicaea, apparently to give him standing for functions soon to be assigned him at the forthcoming Council of Florence, in which a union between the Greek and Latin Churches was envisaged.¹⁷ He sailed with the Patriarch and the greater body of the Greek delegation in the Papal fleet, which left for Venice in November 1437.¹⁸ The last date with which we are here concerned is the Christmas season of the same year when the Greeks put into the port of Methone in the Peloponnesus. From here Bessarion directed a theological enquiry to Andrew Chrysoberges, a fellow-Greek who had accepted Catholicism and had become a Dominican and an Archbishop of some eminence.¹⁹ The next step is conciliar history, with which we are not here directly concerned.

The writings which I now propose to examine are all contained, with two minor exceptions, in the mainly autograph volume (Marc. Gr. 533), which forms part of the great legacy which Bessarion left to the Republic of Venice. It is now found in the Biblioteca Marciana, opposite the Doge's Palace, a library established in part to house Bessarion's famous collection.²⁰ In the codex Marc. Gr. 533 Bessarion gathered together what we may call his *Opera Minora*, beginning with what was probably his first composition of any note, his *Encomium on Saint Bessarion*, written almost certainly in 1423, and ending with a long and well known letter to the Despot Constantine Palaeologos, composed a short time before the failure of the Christian crusade at Varna, November 1444.²¹ Bessarion has employed a small, almost microscopic hand, which, however, has not defied the palaeographers, and all the more important pieces that fall within our period (1423-1437) have been edited at various times and places or, in the case of three items, minutely described.

The preface runs as follows:

“Prologue to the whole book, composed by Bessarion, Cardinal of the Twelve Apostles [i.e., his titular church in the centre of Rome, the ‘Dodici Apostoli’].”

Of the works here contained, some were produced when I was still young, and had only just begun to exercise myself as a writer, before I had any degree of the priesthood, and was in my very tender years. I was formerly Archbishop of Nicaea and am now serving as cardinal of the Holy Roman Church. My name is Bessarion. I come from Trebizond; I grew up and was educated in Constantinople. The pieces that now follow were produced as occasion called for them, each in turn; some when I was a priest, some when I was already an archbishop; the last, on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, and the long letter to the Despot Constantine, when I was already elevated to the dignity of cardinal. Although these works are not worthy of much consideration, I have an affection for them as my own offspring, and have published them in a book, more to keep them for my own memory than for any profit that others may draw from them.²²

There follows a catalogue of thirty-five items. The chronological order is clearly disturbed only in the instance of three letters of condolence written to the Emperor John after the death of his wife. This took place after the end of the Council, but the letters are inserted before two of Bessarion's conciliar contributions (possibly so that these can be grouped with another and later theological work concerning the Council itself, on the *Procession of the Holy Spirit*, written for Alexios Lascaris). In no other case have we any reason to think that the real time sequence is broken.²³

Let us look at these items in turn (excluding of course the conciliar and post-conciliar ones, and of the others only a few less important pieces which still await an editor). One further item, which may have been thought redundant, and a private letter not intended for publication, but highly significant in itself, are now available, and will be inserted here in their respective places. It should be remembered that, while our immediate concern is with the circumstances and content of each piece in turn, our ultimate aim is to pick out evidence about Bessarion himself — his training, his personal tastes and tendencies, and the direction his ideas seem to be taking.²⁴

1. *Encomium on Saint Bessarion*²⁵

If, as seems extremely likely, this hagiographical composition was written when Bessarion took the monastic habit and adopted the name of his patron saint, it must be very early indeed. According to our calculations, he would have been no more than twenty.

The *Encomium* is evidently based on an early *synaxarion* used in the liturgical books of Bessarion's time (some hymns that seem to derive from the same source have been preserved independently). What strikes one immediately is the difference between the studied rhetorical structure of the young Bessarion's sentences, with their wide-ranging classical vocabulary, and the much simpler liturgical source, as far as we can make this out from a later canon and a hymn based on it.²⁶ This stripling monk is already writing like a practised rhetorician, in full command of stylistic devices passed on by a long succession of Byzantine masters. There is obviously some little tension between the humanistic tastes and ideals of the writer and the exaggerated ascetic practices of the early Egyptian saint (at least as represented by the hagiographers). For instance, a *synaxarion* which we now have praises St. Bessarion for his scorn of books: if this was already

in his own immediate source, as seems likely, the young monk of Constantinople thinks it no virtue, and omits the passage.²⁷ He omits or modifies, too, some of the more incredible or fantastic exploits of his patron, such as his not lying down to sleep for forty years.²⁸ Within the framework of the narrative he has received, the writer inserts a number of typical humanistic artifices, such as an initial apologia to win the good-will of readers, a rhetorical eulogy of Egypt, a stylized description of desert mountains, etc.²⁹

Scriptural and Stoic expression occur side-by-side: after St. Bessarion has glorified his heavenly Father by his good works, he enjoys a state of sufficiency with a view to acquiring virtue and contentment of soul (αὐτάρκης ἢν ἤδη πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν).³⁰ This juxtaposition of Christian and philosophic motifs will remain a constant feature of Bessarion's early writing, and will carry over into the major works of his Italian period, where, however, they stand in less incongruous contrast than here. (The indulgent reader may think of many analogies in Western Renaissance writers, but above all in the "pre-humanistic" Dante). There is no reason either to doubt the Christian piety of the young monk, or to resist the evidence of gradually forming humanistic ideals that go somewhat beyond matters of literary style.

2. Lament for the Emperor Manuel Palaeologos³¹

Manuel II, possibly the ablest administrator, most skilled diplomatist, and most lettered of all the Emperors of the Palaeologan dynasty, died 21 July, 1425. Bessarion's lament must have been composed shortly afterwards, probably before the end of 1425 (since, as we shall see, he was soon called on to take part in public affairs subsequent to that date). It is not likely that, as Père H. D. Saffrey surmises, Bessarion actually pronounced the discourse at the obsequies. A young monk of twenty-two (or even a deacon of twenty-five, if we take an earlier date proposed for Bessarion's birth) would hardly have been selected for such an important task. Bessarion admits towards the end of his lament that he was too young to have any personal contact with Manuel, or even to see him properly, or listen to his speeches.³² What seems to have happened, however, is that his literary offering came to the notice of court officials, and also impressed Manuel's son and fellow-Emperor, so that from then on he was kept in view as a promising writer and orator.

The monody itself, although eloquent, strikes the modern reader as being too declamatory, hyperbolic, and artificially elaborated. This does not seem to have bothered contemporaries. Years later, when Bessarion had written much more important works, and in a maturer style, his secretary Perotti chose this piece to translate into Latin, probably with the approval of its author, by then a Roman cardinal with a reputation in two languages.³³

The following points are of interest. After the usual expression of universal grief, an expostulation to the sun for having let its light shine upon this lamentable scene, and other commonplaces, Bessarion describes the diplomatic journeys of Manuel to Western European countries to obtain help for beleaguered Byzantium. "The Atlantic Sea saw him courting danger on our behalf; Italy and the lands beyond saw him coming to seek allies"³⁴ He speaks about the impression made by Manuel on Westerners (and of this we have independent evidence), but without any mention of his famous defence in Paris of the Greek position on the

Filioque controversy.³⁵ He speaks of Manuel's death as a loss sustained, not by one race or one city, but by the whole of Christendom (οὐκ ἔθνος ἓν, οὐδὲ μιᾶς πόλεως πολῖται, τὸ δὲ ἅπαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν γένος).³⁶ One remark is perhaps surprising, coming from a young Byzantine humanist, proud of his own cultural inheritance. Speaking about Manuel's intellectual gifts, he observes that they were admired by the Italians, who have now acquired supremacy in this sphere.³⁷ It is evident that he is quite aware of what is going on in Renaissance Italy, and already admires the great outburst of humanistic literature there (of which he would certainly have heard from Filelfo and others).

He commemorates Manuel's dealings with the Mongols, which resulted in the saving of Constantinople from the Turks; he speaks about the reoccupation of Thessaly and the Peloponnesus, and assures us that Manuel took Thucydides and Xenophon as guides in his military strategy. He praises Manuel in fervent terms for the restoration of literature, on which night had fallen, and for the example of his own written works.³⁸

Undoubtedly Bessarion deeply admired Manuel, and his own love and concern for the imperial city (a constant theme in his mature life) is already clear. But probably he had the usual mixed motives of young writers, and was in part trying to make a display of his own talents.

3. Address to the Emperor of Trebizond, Alexios IV, the Great Comnenos³⁹

Here we have evidence that Bessarion's literary gifts have been recognized and turned to account. In his much later *Encyclica ad Graecos*, written in 1463, when he was appointed Latin Patriarch of Constantinople in succession to Isidore of Kiev, addressing the Greeks of the Venetian territories who came under his jurisdiction, he reminds them of his own past. His name was known to everyone familiar with the Greek language. Before he was twenty-four years of age, he was respected by leaders and rulers, and preferred before older men clad with honours and office.⁴⁰

The reference must be to a part which he was given in a diplomatic mission sent by John VIII to Alexios of Trebizond. Several of these missions took place between 1425 and 1427.⁴¹ Besides the general object (mentioned by the panegyrists) of cementing relations between the two independent Greek Empires, in face of the always impending danger from the Turks, there was a more immediate matter to be settled. John VIII seems only to have been waiting for the death of his father Manuel to rid himself of his Italian wife, Sophia of Montferrat, whom he had married in 1418 at his father's bidding, but with whom he claimed that he had never cohabited. With his father out of the way, he allowed Sophia to escape to Italy, waited for a period of "mourning", and then sued for the hand of the Princess Maria, daughter of Alexios of Trebizond. Maria, like most of the Trebizond princesses, was strikingly beautiful, and must have had a personality to match, for John remained in love with her all his life, and indeed seemed no longer quite the same man after her death.⁴²

During the negotiations for the hand of Maria Comnene, Bessarion would seem to have pronounced his address to Alexios, her father. It is not likely that he had very warm feelings towards the man who, we may take it, was chiefly responsible for the exile of his own patron, Dositheos of Trebizond, and he probably lived for

no more than a few months under Alexios' rule, before leaving as a boy for Constantinople.⁴³ However, he had a mission to perform, and he used his oratorical talents to the full, not shrinking before the gross flattery which imperial power so commonly provokes. Archbishop Chrysanthos Philippidis of Athens, who edited the text in 1946, thought that Bessarion was mainly moved by a desire, not merely for an alliance between the two Greek powers, but for an ultimate alliance with the West — a kind of presage of his later attitude.⁴⁴ But I see no clear evidence of this in the text itself. Nor for that matter is there any mention of a request by John VIII for the hand of Maria (a delicate step which would probably have been undertaken by a more senior diplomat). Bessarion contents himself with singing the praises of the Trapezuntine emperor: his devotion to his subjects, his successful defence of his Empire, his religious zeal in restoring old churches and building new ones (and of this there is evidence lasting into modern times). Bessarion, seeing the many dangers which Trebizond has escaped, is full of good auguries for the future — although history was to belie his hopes in his own lifetime.⁴⁵

There are many religious motifs in this address, and various fleeting allusions give one the impression that Bessarion may well have been pursuing theological studies at this time. This does not prevent him from working in allusions to Homer and Herodotus. He shows himself particularly well informed about recent local events — the difficulty with the Genoese of Caffa, and particularly the attempt at rebellion by the emperor's son John (Kaloioannes) who in subsequent years was to return from banishment, and, it would seem, instigate the murder of his father.⁴⁶

5,6,7. Three Obituary Laments for Theodora, Empress of Trebizond⁴⁷

The marriage of John VIII to Maria Comnene was delayed by the death of Maria's mother, the Empress Theodora (12 November 1426), which was followed by a traditional year of mourning.⁴⁸ During this time Bessarion must have composed the three monodies, together with a verse epitaph (item 8), for the dead empress. Of these pieces, only the first of the monodies has found its way into print. All three, however, have been made the object of a careful examination by Professor Filippo Maria Pontani, who has submitted a detailed report in his article "Epicedi inediti del Bessarione".⁴⁹

In these works, too, Bessarion draws motives for consolation alternately from Christian revelation and pagan philosophy, according to his standard practice. Whole passages from these monodies turn up again in laments which we shall have later to notice. Apparently, in the conventions of the rhetorical literature of the day, there were various kinds of set pieces which could be transferred, with suitable modifications, from one public person to another. (John Eugenikos, Bessarion's friend in these early years, does the same kind of thing, to a nearly unconscionable extent, in his *encomia* of various cities).⁵⁰

Professor Pontani complains of a tendency in Bessarion to draw out his sentences to almost intolerable length, to show the writer's mastery in the organization of his clauses and sub-clauses.⁵¹ This is a characteristic of Bessarion's writing with which all his readers have to come to terms (except in the theological works written at, or in the wake of, the Council of Florence, where he is anxious to

make his points clearly, in a language that could be quite easily followed). But in fairness to Bessarion it should be noticed that what began as a Byzantine rhetorical artifice became, in mature works like the impressive *Contra Calumniatorem Platonis*, a natural feature which seems no more out of place than, to the modern reader, innumerable passages in Henry James, Marcel Proust, or Thomas Mann. And of course there are many analogies in the Western Renaissance writers, both in Latin and the vernacular (e.g., Guillaume Budé and St. Thomas More).

11,12. Two Letters (to George Scholarios)

I pass over two minor items, a remnant of some iambic verses for a dead friend, published by Lambros (who seems, however, to be mistaken in his identification of the friend), and a liturgical canon in honour of St. Panteleimon, which has not yet been edited, to come to the first two of Bessarion's letters which have been preserved. These, together with the rest of his extant correspondence, Greek and Latin, have been published in Mohler's third volume, *Aus Bessarions Gelehrtenkreis*.⁵²

Letters 1 and 2 are printed as ἀνεπίγραφοι, but that is only because the name of the addressee has been obliterated by Bessarion in the manuscript — a sad comment, as we shall see, on a broken friendship. The honour of identifying the one-time friend to whom these letters were written belongs to Père R.-J. Loenertz, who in 1944 advanced the hypothesis that they were in fact written to Bessarion's former fellow-student, and companion humanist, George Scholarios, with whom he broke only many years later, when Scholarios accepted from the dying Mark Eugenikos the leadership of the anti-Unionist party in Byzantium.⁵³ Loenertz's hypothesis has provided the solution for so many puzzling references in these letters, and has shown how these fit in with so many details in known letters from Scholarios to Bessarion, that it now seems safe (with Saffrey) to regard the identification as sufficiently established.

Bessarion's letters were evidently written from the Peloponnesus, where, as we have seen, he had gone in 1431 or shortly afterwards, mainly to study philosophy and mathematics under George Gemistos Pletho, at Mistra.⁵⁴ The Peloponnesus at this time had been recovered by the Palaeologan brothers, Theodore, Constantine, and Thomas, from the previous occupants, Frankish, Italian, Albanian, and Slav, except for a number of small pockets, mainly Venetian.⁵⁵ Although Bessarion was apparently one of Pletho's intimate circle, and was serving his apprenticeship to Plato, Proclus, and others (as we have seen, he would probably have begun earlier studies, perhaps more of the Aristotelian type, under Chortasmenos), he seems to have found time for much else. He was in close touch with the Despot Theodore II, and with junior members of leading families of the Greek territory, as we see from correspondence soon to be noted. There is a hint, too, in one of his letters, that he had some monastic responsibility as well.⁵⁶

At all events, he seems to have been hungry for letters from his friend Scholarios. These two men were in love with the Greek language, which they studied in the ancient writers, and probably in Bessarion's case in the manuals of various Greek rhetoricians (Scholarios liked on the whole to give himself out as an autodidact, which was probably true of his philosophy and theology). Scholarios was an Aristotelian of the Western type (i.e., he accepted an Aristotle partly as transmitted by the Arabic commentators, and partly as interpreted by the

metaphysical genius of Thomas Aquinas, and brought into a fairly close harmony with Christian teaching).⁵⁷ Bessarion, who probably already knew the Greek Aristotle, and was later to translate him felicitously into Latin, showed a preference for Plato. Scholarios moved in imperial circles in Constantinople, and, probably at a time somewhat later than these letters, served as a judge, and layman as he was, as court-preacher. But he was a restless, malcontent spirit, very much aware of his own talents, and convinced that the world had not given him his due (of this there are already suggestions in this correspondence).

Bessarion, when writing to Scholarios (whose own sentences, when he is trying to impress, are often over-loaded, and edge their way along in a curious crab-like motion), becomes rather self-conscious, and adopts a style which is at times too convoluted, and at others too elliptic. Mohler himself, fine scholar though he was, has often made things worse by faulty punctuation, and occasionally by wrong transcription, or a failure to perceive the need for emendation. Each reader, then, has to wrestle with these quasi-cryptograms for himself, although Loenertz has provided some useful clues, and explained the allusions far more plausibly than Mohler (whose notes sometimes miss the point).⁵⁸

The first letter laments that Scholarios, although he has a greater command of the language than anyone else, has chosen to write to Bessarion in a rather plain, unadorned way, forsaking the verbal beauty of which he is master, and thus depriving his friend of great pleasure. Bessarion feels himself somewhat isolated (presumably in comparison with his life at Constantinople), and recalls the time when he and his friend studied together among the woods in a high place. He quotes from Plato's *Gorgias*, and then proceeds to extol the qualities of the Despot Theodore, who is showing an interest in Scholarios.

The second letter begins with a long and complicated reversal of compliments, after the usual manner of young humanists playing with words and fancies, and then expresses sympathy with Scholarios, who evidently has many enemies at court, and is the victim of evil tongues. Bessarion suggests, in his usual way, a combination of philosophic and religious motives for his friend's comfort, and manages to work in a verse from Aeschylus.

This is all we have from Bessarion's side. The friendship needs to be followed up in the letters and other works of Scholarios. The last word we have from his side is a sad one. Bessarion, in the concluding stages of the Council of Florence, had produced a *Λόγος Δογματικός* of which Scholarios now thoroughly disapproves, partly because of its theology, and partly because it was composed without his knowledge and advice. Then suddenly the severe words give way to this plaintive, revealing passage:

"But this is my greatest pain, that I am bereft of a very intelligent friend. Who rejoices in my achievements more than he does? Who knows the man and his literary power more than I, or admires him more than I? ... He was worth more to me than water and air and life itself. But now he occupies a distinguished place in Italy, while I have my abode among my fellow-countrymen, good men to be sure, but, with the exception of a few, not well educated, and with no love for letters.... But there would be another time to sing sad songs about this."⁵⁹

13. Letter to George Amiroutzes⁶⁰

This is a letter to a fellow-humanist from Trebizond, a prickly, difficult man, whom Bessarion partly reproaches, partly tries to mollify.

14. Epitaph in Iambic Verse for Princess Cleope Malatesta

These verses have remained unedited, but a monody for the same person has been published by Lambros from a Paris MS. (Gr. 2540).⁶¹ This prose work may have been omitted from his collection in Marc. Gr. 533 because it contains passages used already of the Empress Theodora of Trebizond in preceding laments.⁶² It is worth reading, however, in its own right.

Cleope Malatesta, from the famous family of Rimini, was one of the Latin princesses authorized by Pope Martin V to marry into Greek Orthodox royal families. In most cases, as Charles Diehl has shown us in a racy chapter on the subject, the experiments were unsuccessful.⁶³ Cleope was married to Theodore II of Mistra in 1421. Latin documents would seem to show that, in spite of previous guarantees to the contrary, her husband brought strong pressure on her to adopt the Orthodox faith and rite. On the other hand, Pletho, who also wrote a monody for her death, claimed that she herself chose to adopt the Greek rite, and changed her "soft and lax Italian ways" to fit in with the "severity and modesty" of Greek customs.⁶⁴

In Bessarion's lament there is no mention of any religious difficulties, or, indeed, of her Western origin. He dwells on her kind character, her care for the poor, and other virtues. Once more we have the familiar mixture of classical and Christian motifs. Quite moving references to the Father who sees our good deeds in secret follow a quotation from Thucydides. The work, however, is quite useful in determining the quality of Bessarion's Christianity. One has only to compare his monody with that of Pletho to see the difference between the purely philosophic musings of the pagan sage and the combination of classical humanism and Christian faith which is characteristic of Bessarion.⁶⁵

15. Epitaph in Iambic Verse for Theodora Palaeologina

This is another short piece from the Peloponnesus. Maddalena Tocco, daughter of one of the great Italian families established in the Morea, became the first wife of Constantine, the brother of Theodore (and later, in succession to John VIII, the last Emperor of Constantinople, well known for his heroic resistance and death during the fall of the city to the Turks in 1453). Maddalena took the Greek name of Theodora, in accordance with a well established Greek custom. She died in 1429, and her remains were brought from Clarentza, in the north of the Peloponnesus, to the church of the Zoodote at Mistra, apparently while Bessarion was in residence there.⁶⁶

He devotes some verses ("non inelegantes", in the judgment of Leo Allatius) to her, mentioning her Italian origin, praising her family, and noting that she died in childbirth. He sees her as transferred to the heavenly mansions (John XIV, 2), and finding unceasing joy on Olympus, always desiring and always finding an unwithering garland.⁶⁷

16. Iambic Verses for a Tapestry representing the Emperor Manuel II and the Empress Helen, first in Lay and then in Monastic Attire⁶⁸

These lines are written in the person of Theodore II, who, in having this tapestry wrought, was accomplishing a vow he had made to honour his parents in this particular way.

The verses are competent, if not remarkable. They speak of Manuel's having chosen his sons "to rule over the foreign portion of the Ausonians" (κέκρικας ἄρχειν Αὐσονίων κληρουχίας)⁶⁹ in a purely objective way, without the acrimony one might expect from a Byzantine writing about the previous Frankish and Italian occupation of ancestral Greek territory. But Bessarion is well aware that Theodore's capital is not the ancient Sparta, but the foundation of one of the Villehardouin family, and is living fairly close to the times when the Western occupation of the Morea was taken for granted. And his contemporary and friend of that time, John Eugenikos, who was very far indeed from being a "Latinizer", also refers quite calmly to a Greek hero (possibly also a friend of Bessarion), who had defeated Tocco in a naval battle, as a great support of the "land of the Ausonians" (Γαίης Αὐσονίων μέγ' ἔρεισμα).⁷⁰ Without putting too much pressure, then, on Bessarion's casual phrase, we may simply note that the man who later sounded the alarm against the Turk so often and vehemently, speaks with comparative serenity of the earlier occupation of Greek territory by the Western intruders.

17,18. Two Letters to Theodore II Porphyrogennetos⁷¹

We have had several occasions to notice that Bessarion was on close terms with the Despot of Mistra. A valuable statement in Capranica's funeral oration in the Dodici Apostoli in Rome informs us that Bessarion played an important role in reconciling Theodore and his brother John, the emperor. "Moved by his (i.e., Bessarion's) reputation, the famous brothers, one the emperor of Byzantium and the other ruler of the Peloponnesus, made up the differences that were beginning to spring up between them, through his mediation and diplomacy".⁷² We know very well what the growing discord between the brothers was all about. Theodore, who was the eldest brother after the reigning Emperor (who was childless), naturally expected the right of succession. On the other hand, John had clearly seen that the younger brother Constantine was far more reliable and competent, and would make an excellent emperor. Theodore went to Constantinople, and stayed there between March and June, 1436, obviously with a view to pushing his claims. Bessarion's letters, while celebrating the praises of the imperial capital, insist significantly on the theme of Theodore's duties to Mistra and his ties with the Peloponnesus. It seems fairly clear that he is saying in effect: "Don't urge your claims to the throne; you would be much better off here with us. Let Constantine shoulder the burden which the emperor has designed for him."⁷³

19,20,21. Letters to Paul Sophianos, Demetrios Pepagomenos, and Nikephoros Cheilas⁷⁴

These short letters were written to members of well known families, young men who were evidently in the retinue of Theodore on his visit to Constantinople.

Bessarion would apparently have liked to go with them, but is held back by the "tyranny of circumstances" (possibly the monastic duties mentioned above).

22, 24 (for 23 see infra). Letters to the Hieromonk Dionysius and the Hieromonks Matthew and Isidore⁷⁵

These are letters of consolation to monastic friends on the recent death of their great teacher and leader. This man is not named, but he can hardly be other than the Ignatius Chortasmenos, whose memory, as we saw, Bessarion revered all his life. If it was Pletho to whom he looked up chiefly as a philosopher, it was Chortasmenos whom he admired as a Christian, and as the founder of the monastic tradition which he himself found most congenial. This would seem to have been one which fostered an impressive religious devotion, which among other things sat more easily with a literary and philosophic culture than did that of other monastic centres. The recipients of these letters were evidently men to whom it was not inappropriate to quote Euripides, or to use Platonic, neo-Platonic, and Aristotelian terms in conjunction with religious motives for consolation. At the same time, Bessarion makes perfectly clear what he chiefly admired in the deceased master: "I carry around in my soul the model of this man's moral comportment and of his bearing, venerable in itself. These were the things which, merely by being seen, caused him to be more admired than the sights of which men sing. I, too, stand in awe before the man".⁷⁶

The Matthew and Isidore to whom the second letter was written were evidently men of a generation older than Bessarion, so that he feels that it is they who ought to be consoling him, rather than the other way about. They can take the dead man's place, being richly endowed both in divine and human things (τὰ πάντα πλουτοῦσι, τὰ τ' ἐς Θεόν, τὰ τ' ἐς ἀνθρώπους).⁷⁷ (It is natural to ask whether the Isidore of the second letter was the future Isidore of Kiev, with whom Bessarion was linked at the Council of Florence and afterwards. This is most unlikely, as this latter Isidore, soon to be appointed to the see of Kiev and All Russia, had been for some years past the Superior of the monastery of St. Demetrios in Constantinople, and at the time of Bessarion's letter would probably have been on imperial business connected with the Council of Basel).⁷⁸

This would be a fitting place to raise the important question about the kind of theology and ecclesiastical policy which Chortasmenos represented, and by which Bessarion could have been affected. Can any "latinophrone" connections be established here? Until this "bishop of Selymbria" was properly identified, and his theological position on the *Filioque* dispute completely clarified, it was possible to think of him as disposing Bessarion in favour of the Latin doctrine. In a well known passage of the *Memoirs* of Syropoulos — that engaging, if not totally reliable narrator of the *coulisses* of the Council — Bessarion is credited with having said: "I saw, too, the bishop of Selymbria, who was a lettered man and one of the great teachers, and I know well that he, too, praised the union [i.e., of the Latin and Greek Churches]".⁷⁹ We know now, through the researches of Herbert Hunger, quite enough about Chortasmenos to be quite sure that he was a determined opponent of the *Filioque* doctrine. He was, to be sure, a friend of the Latinophrone Manuel Chrysoloras, but was so alarmed about rumours of his temporizing with Latin doctrine that he called on him for a clear declaration of his Orthodox faith.⁸⁰ (Chrysoloras had in fact adopted Catholicism). There is no

question, then, of Bessarion's being influenced by his teacher in favour of the *Filioque*. If Syropoulos has correctly reported his words (which is not altogether certain), Bessarion can have meant no more than that Chortasmenos was in favour of some "economic union", or working arrangement between the Churches, whereby they could make a common front against the Turks.

It is not in the least likely that, as Mohler held, Bessarion belonged to the distinguished but thinly represented Latinophrone tradition within the Byzantine world. On the central issue of the *Filioque* doctrine, which, at the time, dominated the theological disputes much more than questions of Papal authority, he showed, as Fr. Gill has consistently maintained, complete solidarity with the overwhelming majority of the Greeks, until he was shaken, first at Ferrara on the legitimacy of an "addition" to the Creed, and then at Florence on the substance of the doctrine itself.⁸¹

At the same time, the evidence of his early writings seems to show him well disposed to the West on cultural grounds, and there is no sign in him of any *odium theologicum*. (This would have been even truer, at this stage, of George Scholarios). Bessarion, who could admire Pletho without in the least sharing his paganism,⁸² and who could find food for his soul in classical antiquity without ceasing to be a devout Christian monk, was certainly capable of whatever discriminations his own conscience dictated then with regard to Western culture and religion.

Further facts about his theological position must be held over until we come to a last and very significant item in this survey.

23. Letter to John Eugenikos, Nomophylax⁸³

Although Bessarion and Mark Eugenikos seem to have been antipathetic to one another from an early stage, the situation was different with regard to Mark's humanist brother John. Bessarion here writes a warm, kindly, sympathetic letter on the death of the latter's children. The friendship did not survive the tragic divisions that formed after the Council.⁸⁴

27. Encomium on Trebizond⁸⁵

This is deservedly the best known of all Bessarion's early works, and both in length and general quality somewhat exceeds the category of *Opera Minora*, within which the other items can be comfortably contained. Less than full justice can be done to it here.

Some hypothetical, but quite plausible suggestions have been made about the date and occasion of this elaborate composition.⁸⁶ By this time Bessarion may well have been summoned from the Peloponnesus by the Emperor John to fill the position of *hegoumenos* of the important monastery of St. Basil in Constantinople. During the short period in which he held this charge, he may well have been sent to Trebizond on a further mission, this time to persuade the successor to Alexios IV, i.e., his son John IV (the Kaloioannes of earlier mention) to send delegates to the forthcoming Council, on which, by 1436, the Byzantine emperor had decided. It has been noted that Bessarion himself, in the long historical section of his encomium, says that 1500 years have passed since, on the occasion of Pompey's victory over Mithridates, in B.C. 64, Trebizond submitted

itself to the Romans.⁸⁷ If we put these two figures together, we arrive exactly at 1436, which would be a very appropriate date for sending Bessarion, now occupying a distinguished ecclesiastical position in Constantinople, and himself a native Trapezuntine, to argue the case for the Council before the emperor of Trebizond. (Attractive as this hypothesis is, it must be admitted that there is no specific mention of the Council in the encomium — although there are parts that can be construed as giving support to an East-West alliance. In any case, many other considerations must have influenced Bessarion — including genuine pride in his birthplace — during the long hours when he was at work upon this piece).

The *Encomium* is still too dominated in part by rhetorical conventions to commend itself entirely as good literature, good history, or good description, all of which it sets out to be. However, in spite of the occasional toying with figures of speech or other displays of verbal virtuosity, and in spite, too, of the obvious idealization of Trebizond, past and present, a good deal of factual information is conveyed, much of which tallies well with the reports of travellers of that day, like Clavijo and Tafur, and much is obviously objective report for which this document is our unique source. Nineteenth-century works on Trebizond, like the well known histories of Fallmerayer and Finlay, are the poorer for not having an edition of Bessarion's work at their disposal; fortunately William Miller in more recent times has been able to make profitable use of it.⁸⁸ Indeed, the chief virtue of this carefully written account (especially when contrasted with the almost purely rhetorical later *Ἐκφρασις Τραπεζοῦντος* of John Eugenikos, which is so general that large sections of it were applied, with only minor adjustments, to various other Greek cities),⁸⁹ is that the real topography is sharply picked out, the buildings described, and important historical events narrated in some detail.

Bessarion tells us about the position of Trebizond, its climate, the produce of its soil, its commerce with many countries which make it a kind of market and workshop of the world. There is an account of its progress under the emperors of the Comnenos family, its military organization, its successful defence against its barbarian enemies. We are given a picture of the city houses, sometimes of two, sometimes of three storeys, the suburbs, the workshops, the ships, the walls of the city, the imperial palace and treasury, and the various churches.

The chief fault, as Lambros rightly points out, is an attempt to trace the history of this region too far back. Trebizond is a colony of Sinope, and that is a colony of Miletus, and eventually the ancestry turns out to be conveniently Athenian — and all this is worked out at exorbitant length. Of course we are treated to a good deal of Herodotus, and to some unidentified sources besides.

Bessarion's version of the later Roman occupation of the Greek-speaking lands, including his own, is remarkable, and introduces us for the first time to his vision of history. The theme of Greece leading its captors captive is of course well known in Latin literature, but here it is taken up by a humanist Greek of the fifteenth century, and exploited in a rather special way. Bessarion claims that Attica, and Athens itself, gladly submitted to the Roman rule, providing the military masters with a knowledge and wisdom and literature, and above all introducing them to a language which alone befits the very nature of man. He takes a quite idealistic view of Roman history, republican and imperial, and emphasizes the Roman admiration of the Greeks, whom they treat as allies rather than as subjects, and whose cultural achievements they endeavour to share. (Οὕτως ἦγον Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἀγοντας μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπ'αὐτῶν ἦγοντο, καὶ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἦν τὸ σχῆμα

τῆς συμμαχίας).⁹⁰ The subsequent history of the Byzantine Empire is for him simply a continuation of the Roman rule, exercised through the medium of the Greek tongue, and mediated through Greek culture. He has much to say about the part played by Trebizond in helping the Ῥωμαῖοι against the Persians and later barbarians (probably the Seljuk Turks), but ends the historical survey with the sad picture of the Ottoman conquests, extending into Europe itself.⁹¹

While it is possible that, if Bessarion was in fact trying at this time to win the emperor of Trebizond over to the conciliar plans of John VIII, he emphasized the Graeco-Roman past with a view to a prospective military alliance with the West against the Turks, the reading of history seems to be genuinely Bessarion's own. It is certainly in excess of the "familiar fiction", as Lambros calls it, by which ancient Rome is prolonged in Byzantium.⁹² We may have here the beginnings of an idea, distinctly perceptible in his later works, of a recovery or the constitution of a *Respublica Christiana*, Latin and Greek, which would also be a *Respublica Litterarum* — a vision which animated him with indomitable courage in trying to organize a Crusade to rescue Byzantium from Turkish occupation after 1453.

26. A Legal Discourse addressed to the Synod in Constantinople....as from the Person of Archbishop Dositheos of Trebizond⁹³

It will be remembered that Archbishop Dositheos, Bessarion's patron, was driven out of the see of Trebizond in 1416/17, after perhaps less than two years' tenure. He carried his protest to the Holy Synod at Constantinople, and was at first heard with sympathy. But protests to the Emperor Alexios IV, who seems to have had his own man installed in office, were unavailing, and the years dragged on. At length the Synod grew tired of the affair, and accepted the *fait accompli*, calling on Dositheos to hand in his formal resignation. This Dositheos for some time resolutely refused to do, but eventually, after years under continual pressure, he gave a reluctant consent by word of mouth to the proposal. Almost immediately afterwards he regretted what he considered this moment of weakness, and retracted his words, pointing out that he had put nothing in writing, and that his resignation could not be formally sustained.⁹⁴ By 1430/31 he had been appointed to the richly endowed but less prestigious see of Monembasia in the Peloponnesus, but he continued to regard himself as unjustly treated until, during the preliminary stages of the Latin-Greek encounters at Ferrara, he was compensated with the very senior position of Archbishop of Ancyra.⁹⁵

At some stage after Dositheos' loss of the title to Trebizond, his protégé Bessarion drew up a long and brilliantly argued protest to the Holy Synod in Constantinople. Archbishop Chrysanthos, who edited the text, assigned it to the years 1422-1431. But even the latter part of this period would seem to be too early to fit its position in the index of his works drawn up by Bessarion himself in Marc. Gr. 533. I think we must assume that it was written after the various items at Mistra which we earlier examined. On the other hand, the date proposed by Père Laurent, 1436/37, seems rather too late.⁹⁶ By then Bessarion had many other things on hand, and probably would not have had time to compose such a long and carefully documented appeal as this. Moreover, one would think that the Synod would have been in no mood to deal with this ancient *cause célèbre* quite so late in the day, particularly when preparations for the Council must have been dominating all else.

It would be impossible to work through the details of Bessarion's argument here. It is written with considerable verve, though in a language perhaps too atticizing and difficult for many members of the Synod, few of whom could have been trained humanists. Bessarion shows himself surprisingly familiar with canon law, particularly that part of it drawn from the so-called *Apostolic Constitutions*.⁹⁷ He is also well versed in historical precedent, and ranges back to St. Cyril of Alexandria's letters for examples to support his case.⁹⁸ Naturally, when dealing with Dositheos' one moment of weakness, he does not fail to work in an allusion to the verse in Euripides' *Hippolytus* about the mind that swore not while the tongue swore.⁹⁹ But on the whole he treats this ecclesiastical business in its appropriate terms, and astonishes us by mounting such a persuasive argument from what might seem a rather weak position. He reaches the point where, without mincing words, he denounces the Synod for their disregard of the canons, of Patristic traditions, and of the civil laws by which emperors have reinforced these, and for having become a law unto themselves.¹⁰⁰

The work is valuable in showing us, among other things, that Bessarion, for all his literary and philosophical studies, and his increasing involvement in public affairs, had not neglected his theological, and particularly his Patristic reading.

One sentence is worth picking out as probably reflecting Bessarion's own thought on the hesychastic mysticism practised by many Athonite and other monks, and so strongly defended against Barlaam of Calabria by Gregory Palamas in the preceding century. He tells the Synod that even if a bishop in the position of Dositheos were to *ask* to be relieved of his charge, on the grounds that he could make himself well-pleasing to God through eremitical silence (δι' ἡσυχίας), he should be told that the road to heaven on which he has already chosen to travel is of its nature a more direct one, and one which renders more practical service to God and human life (καὶ ἐπιτομωτέρα πέφυκεν οὐσα καὶ χρησιμωτέρα Θεῷ καὶ τῷ βίῳ).¹⁰¹

These few words tend to reinforce the impression given by the religious elements in Bessarion's earlier writings that his piety, genuine and constant as it was, was not of a mystical kind, and that he was rather suspicious of the aims of the hesychastic monks (with whom he probably felt very little in common, in any case, because of the prevalent distrust among them of secular, and especially classical learning). Of his attitude to the speculative theology of the great hesychastic doctor, Gregory Palamas, we have direct evidence, to which we must now turn.

Letter to Andrew Chrysoberges, (Latin) Archbishop of Rhodes¹⁰²

This is our last piece of evidence about the mind of Bessarion in the pre-conciliar period. It is not in any sense a "literary production", but simply a private and confidential letter, asking for an opinion on a few theological matters (including some on which his correspondent was a known specialist). Naturally it would not have occurred to Bessarion to include this mere letter of enquiry among the items in Marc. Gr. 533, which he regarded as his literary offspring, and we should have had no knowledge of it at all, had it not been quoted *verbatim* in Andrew's reply, which is preserved in Codex Vat. gr. 706, and in a later copy of this made by Leo Allatius in the seventeenth century.

Andrew was one of the three brothers of the Greek Chrysoberges family, who, under the influence of Demetrios Cydones, accepted the Latin faith (apparently

in the wake of the Palamite troubles to which we shall soon refer), and subsequently all became Dominicans.¹⁰³ Andrew himself was a theologian of some note, and a trusted Papal emissary. He had been appointed to the Latin diocese of Rhodes in 1432 (for which reason he was often quaintly referred to in Italy as “Colossensis”). He was destined to be one of the Latin orators with whom Bessarion debated in the early sessions of the Council at Ferrara, within a year of this epistolary exchange. From Andrew’s letter we gather that Bessarion had quite some time before (πάλαι) addressed an enquiry to him, and, on failing to get a reply, wrote to him again at Methone (where the Greek contingent had put in for the Christmas season, 1437, on their way to the Council). In this second letter, it would seem, Bessarion had rightly divined that Andrew was diffident about replying because, having received his professional training in Latin, in Italy, he was self-conscious about his written Greek, which he thought might make the renowned recipient smile. Bessarion assured Andrew that it was the matter, not the words, that he was interested in, and pressed him for an answer.

With the initial excuses and courtesies out of the way, Andrew settles down, in quite respectable Greek after all, to deal with the problems submitted. It is not so much, however, with his answers as with Bessarion’s own observations and questions that we are really concerned.

Bessarion, in surprisingly strong language, shows himself profoundly unhappy about the official adoption by his Church (following a famous Synod of 1351) of the theology of Gregory Palamas, according to which there is a real distinction between the inaccessible and unknowable essence of God and the divine ‘energies’ or operations, which while being uncreated, can yet be known and experienced by man. (Palamas had in fact essayed the difficult feat of combining the “existential” aspirations and the experience of the hesychastic mystics with a speculative theology in which the language of the Cappadocian Fathers and of the neo-Platonic pseudo-Dionysius about the utter transcendence by God of human knowledge is further developed).

Bessarion states the doctrine in a deliberately *simpliste* form, with a touch of literary satire, and finds it a serious departure from the traditional theology, according to which there is nothing uncreated except the tri-personal God. This innovation, as it seems to him, has called in question the teaching authority of the Church which has adopted it. (Rather startling language, this, from one who was to be the second Greek orator at the Council! But there the central issue was the *Filioque* clause of the Latin Creed, and the Palamite theology was, on the whole, successfully skirted).

On the other hand, Bessarion goes on to say, the Blessed Thomas (Aquinas), while maintaining the identity between the divine essence and operation, speaks “in all his works” about a procession in God (of the Son) by nature, and a creation of finite things (the world *ad extra*) by will. Further, Thomas distinguishes between what God could do by his power, and what he actually chooses to do by his will. This would seem to be tantamount to admitting real distinctions between the divine nature and will, and between the divine power and will — which would be inconsistent with the basic tenet about the “simplicity” of God, in whom nature and operation are one.

Bessarion had evidently been studying Aquinas in the Greek translations by the brothers Demetrios and Prochoros Cydones, but whether he had studied “all his works”, or even the main ones, in any depth, seems rather doubtful — if he had,

these questions, one might think, would have answered themselves. It seems likely that, although he did not lack acumen in metaphysical theology (he showed flashes of this in occasional interjections at Florence, in passages of his *Λόγος Δογματικὸς* submitted towards the end of the Council, but above all in his later controversy with Mark Eugenikos), at this particular stage he was more at home in Patristic thought than in the extremely technical Scholastic argumentation which was Andrew's native element. However, he had served an apprenticeship in the Greek Aristotle (whose *Metaphysics* he was later to translate impeccably into Latin), and probably followed Andrew's exposition well enough to be assured that Aquinas was not really undermining his own principles, or opening the way towards the paradoxical conclusions of Palamas.

It would be foolish here to pass any summary judgment on the Palamite theology itself, concerning which a very considerable literature has grown up in modern times.¹⁰⁴ There is an element of caricature in Bessarion's treatment of the famous "energies", and this may well be part of the fairly common humanistic tradition in Byzantium in regard to the whole Palamite controversy. But basically the difficulty which worried Bessarion seems to have worried others of his contemporaries, too, including other members of the Greek delegation at Florence. The taboo imposed by the emperor on introducing Palamite doctrines during the public debates seems to suggest that doubts and disagreements were still seething under the surface.¹⁰⁵

The last we hear of Bessarion, then, as he makes his way to the Council which was destined to be the decisive event of his life, is that he is already troubled about the official position of his Church. This, however, was on a matter which had no direct bearing on the issues chosen as central in the search for religious unity between East and West.

Seeing that the observations on Bessarion's temperament, tastes, outlook, and ideals which have been made in the course of this paper have had to follow the haphazard course of very heterogeneous material, it may be useful to collect them in a summary form at the end. The conclusions which seem either imposed or suggested could be set out as follows:

1. Bessarion belongs to that small group of Byzantine monks who cultivated a genuine and persevering piety which was compatible with a deep admiration for the literature and philosophy of ancient Greece. He does not seem to have found it difficult to make the historical allowances, or to practise the religious tolerance, required to bring his "humanist" enthusiasms into harmony with his Christian faith and ideals. Deep down, he stands closer to his spiritual master Chortasmenos, man of letters and model of sanctity, than to the brilliant philosophical figure of Pletho, however much he may have been fascinated by this man's speculations and compelling personality.
2. He had no strong "mystical" bent. He certainly had no desire to "burn his books" — even his pagan books — and wait in silence with the hesychastic monks on Mt. Athos for the divine light to become visible. He was completely out of sympathy with the fairly common monastic hostility towards secular learning. He had a deep distrust and impatience with the Palamite theology, and was uneasy, and even intellectually disturbed, at the official approval given it. However, with

the *laissez faire* policy on this matter which seems to have been practised in his own day, he could probably have ridden the difficulty out, had the Council not forced him to face other issues involved in an East-West accord.

3. He was not in the line of succession to the "Latinophrones" of Byzantium, although he may well have admired their humanistic achievements. He gives no indication of sympathy towards the much controverted *Filioque* doctrine, though perhaps it would be fairer to say that in the material we have examined this question does not arise, and that to determine his attitude to it we have to look slightly ahead to his early speeches at the Council, where he defends the Greek cause.

4. He was aware of the Italian Renaissance, and admired what he knew of it for its intellectual and literary vitality, and presumably for its growing reconquest of the classical heritage. He had no direct contact with Italy, and probably knew what was going on there chiefly from Scholarios and from his rather mercurial Italian fellow-student, Filelfo (with whom, however, he does not seem to have been on close terms).¹⁰⁶ He was, and knew himself to be a figure of some eminence in that minor and restricted literary revival that is sometimes called the Palaeologan Renaissance. His ambition was to put the classical Greek language to good use in his own day. At this stage he probably knew next to no Latin, and could hardly have envisaged a future when he would achieve fame also in that medium.¹⁰⁷

5. While being very much of a Greek — and he remained this all his life — he does not seem to have shared, even in these earlier years, those anti-Latin feelings which were common in the Byzantine world both before and after the tragic events of 1204. In this he stands closer to the more humanistic court circles, and a few erudite ecclesiastics, than to the general run of clergy and people. He may even at this period of his life have had glimmerings of an idea about a Greek-Latin alliance, which besides forming a kind of composite *Respublica Christiana*, would correspond in some measure to the old Graeco-Roman civilization, and, like it, be both a republic of letters and a bastion against barbarian political pressure or military invasion. If so, it was towards no ignoble dream that he was feeling his way.

Footnotes

1. L. Mohler; *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann* (Paderborn, 1923; hereafter, Mohler, I), 1-2. Mohler later added two important volumes of texts, *In Calumniatorem Platonis*, I-IV (including the first printed edition of the Greek original), (Paderborn, 1927) and *Aus Bessarions Gelehrtenkreis: Abhandlungen, Reden, Briefe* (Paderborn, 1942; hereafter, Mohler, II and III). These add greatly to, and occasionally replace, the texts in PG, 161. Of the biographies before Mohler, only that by H. Vast, *Le Cardinal Bessarion* (Paris, 1878; hereafter, Vast, *Bessarion*) retains much value (although the eighteenth century Latin life by Bandini, prefixed to the works in PG, makes racy reading and is still useful at points). A. A. Kyros, *Βησσαρίων ὁ Ἑλληὴν*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1947) is a semi-popular work, with imaginary excursions. Of the most important contributions since Mohler, the two most relevant for present purposes are: R. Loenertz, "Pour la biographie du cardinal Bessarion", *OCP*, 10 (1944), 117-49 (hereafter, Loenertz, "Biographie") and H. D. Saffrey,

“Recherches sur quelques autographes du Cardinal Bessarion et leur caractère autobiographique”, *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, III, ST 233 (Vatican City, 1964), 263-97 (hereafter, Saffrey, “Recherches”). Two notable accounts in encyclopedias are L. Bréhier, *DHGE*, 8, cols. 1181-99 and L. Labowsky, *DBI*, 8, 686-96.

2. For an indication of this see below, in the letter to Andrew Chrysoberges. Bessarion probably used the well known translations by Demetrios and Prochoros Cydones. For details of these and other Greek versions, see M. Rackl, “Die griechische Übersetzung der *Summa Theologica* des heiligen Thomas von Aquin”, *BZ*, 24 (1923/4), 48 ff.; and more especially Stylianos G. Papadopoulos, ‘Ελληνικαὶ Μεταφράσεις Θεωμιστικῶν Ἔργων. Φιλοθωμισταὶ καὶ Ἀντιθωμισταὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ (Athens, 1967).

3. For the contrast in attitudes, see the opening speeches of Mark and Bessarion at Ferrara, *Quae Supersunt Actorum Graecorum Concilii Florentini* (hereafter, *Acta Graeca*), ed. J. Gill (Rome, 1953), 28-47, and Mark’s letter, completely *sui generis*, to Pope Eugenius IV, in *Marci Eugenici . . . Opera Anti-Unionistica*, ed. L. Petit (Rome, 1977), 28-33. Mark’s studies were done under teachers whose names reappear in connection with Bessarion (Ignatius Chortasmenos, perhaps George Chrysokokkes, and Pletho). Cf. besides the “life” written by his brother John Eugenikos (see below), K. G. Mamonis, “Μάρκος ὁ Εὐγενικός, Βίος καὶ Ἔργον” *Θεολογία*, 25 (1954), 398-9, a judgement endorsed by C. N. Tsirpanlis in *Mark Eugenikos and the Council of Florence* (Thessalonica, 1974). Mark, however, became a

monk *after* his secular studies and his teaching of rhetoric, and deliberately stepped out of the humanistic current. Cf. his remark to his colleagues at Ferrara, who had looked for more refinement of language and display of learning from him, that he “had long ago given up such pretensions, and had chosen to speak simply, as befitting a monk” (πάλαι παρητήσατο τὰς τοιαύτας φιλοτιμίας, καὶ ἀπλῶς ἤρετίσατο ὁμιλεῖν καλογορικῶς), in *Les Mémoires de . . . Sylvestre Syropoulos*, ed. V. Laurent (Paris and Rome, 1971; hereafter, Syropoulos), V, 12 (p. 268). For Mark as a theologian, the strongest case is put by A. N. Diamantopoulos, in *Μάρκος ὁ Εὐγενικός* (Athens, 1899), and, with an interesting argument about organic tradition and Byzantine Scholasticism, by A. Schmemmann, in “Ὁ Ἅγιος Μάρκος ὁ Εὐγενικός”, *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 34 (1951), 34-43, 230-41. Mark and Bessarion were either born, or had become, opposites and were bound to exacerbate, and finally alienate one another. At this distance of time we can “situate” them better, and try to do justice to both.

4. For Bessarion’s ecclesiastical *curriculum vitae*, we have his own moving autograph account inscribed in a *horologion*, *MS Marc. gr. 14*, reproduced in Saffrey, “Recherches”, 270-1. The key to the dating is provided by Bessarion himself, and this gives us a few fixed points for this part of his life.

5. See Elpidio Mioni, “Bessarione scriba e alcuni suoi collaboratori”, *Miscellanea Marciana di Studi Bessarionei* (Padua, 1976), 264-5.

6. For Bessarion’s own statement, cf. the prologue to *Marc. gr. 533*,

fully reproduced in Saffrey, "Recherches", 283. For the panegyrists, see Platina (PG, 161, col. 103); Capranica (who claims to be speaking "extemporanea paene et tumultuaria dictione", but borrows much from Platina), Mohler III, 406; and Michael Apostolis (who is tantalizingly brief with factual detail, and wastes his time with amateur philosophizing), PG, 161, col. 131.

7. A detailed discussion of the question would occupy disproportionate space here. The date given was first proposed by Vast, *Bessarion*, 2, and accepted with varying degrees of confidence by Mohler and later writers. It rests on late evidence (a note preceding an edition of Capranica's funeral oration in B. Malvasia, *Compendio storico della basilica dei Santi XII Apostoli* [Rome, 1665]). Bessarion himself observes that he came into public notice before he was twenty-four (which probably refers to his part in a diplomatic mission to Trebizond, ca. 1426). Saffrey, however, "Recherches", 23, argues that if Bessarion had been born in 1403, he would have been younger than the minimum age demanded by Byzantine canon law for ordination to the diaconate (twenty-five) and priesthood (thirty), to which orders he was promoted, according to his own statement, in 1425 and 1430. A probable explanation is that powerful (perhaps even imperial) influence was brought to bear to procure dispensations in his case.

8. For Dositheos, and the dates here given, cf. V. Laurent, "La succession épiscopale de Trébizonde", *Ἀρχ.Ποιτ.*, 21 (1956), 92-4 and *DHGE*, 14, cols. 700-1. Cf. Archbishop Chrysanthos, "Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Τραπεζοῦντος", *Ἀρχ.Ποιτ.*, 4-5 (1933), 259 ff., and a

summary of the main events, *ibid.*, 9 (1939), 1-6 (introduction to a text by Bessarion).

9. Apostolis, PG, 161, col. 133 (ξυνεπηγάγετο καὶ τὸν παῖδα τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ κάλλος ἐπιφερόμενον). For the patronage of Dositheos, which may later have become of a rather general kind, see Laurent, *op. cit.*, 93-4.

10. For the archbishop of Selymbria, not yet named, cf. Platina, *Panegyricus Bessarionis*, PG, 161, col. 105; Capranica, Mohler, III, 406; Loenertz, "Biographie", 129-30. Explaining and greatly expanding these references we now have H. Hunger, "Ein byzantinischer Intellektueller der späten Palaiologenzeit", *WSt*, 70 (1957), 153-63; and a monograph by the same author, *Johannes Chortasmenos: Briefe, Gedichte, und Kleine Schriften* (Vienna, 1969).

11. For the rhetorical and literary teaching available at this time in Constantinople, see F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter*, *ByzArch* 8 (Leipzig-Berlin, 1926), 67-73. Filelfo moved to the school of George Chrysokokkes after the death of John Chrysoloras, and later reminds Bessarion on two occasions that they were fellow-students in this school. Cf. Fuchs, *op. cit.*, 70, and E. Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe* (Paris, 1892), 112. For indications that Scholarios at least mixed in the same circle, cf. Loenertz, "Biographie", 128, note 2.

12. For the mission to Trebizond, in which Bessarion's part may have been only a minor one, see below, under item 3.

13. For Dositheos in Monembasia, cf. Laurent, "La succession", 93 and *DHGE* (as in note 8).

14. For a most interesting account of Mistra, its history, personalities, and monuments, see Sir Steven Runciman's recent book, obviously a labour of love, *Mistra*, (London, 1980). There are frequent and sometimes extended references to Bessarion in F. Masai's very able *Pléthon et le Platonisme de Mistra* (Paris, 1956; hereafter, Masai, *Pléthon*); but the subject is a complex one, and needs critical reappraisal in the light of Bessarion's own later philosophical work.
15. Cf. the correspondence briefly described below (items 19, 20, 21).
16. Capranica, Mohler, III, 407 (lines 6-10).
17. Apostolis, PG, 161, col. 133; Platina, *ibid.*, col. 106.
18. Syropoulos, IV, 2 (p. 199). Cf. J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959; hereafter, Gill, *Council*), 89.
19. See below, note 102.
20. For a detailed description of the codex, see Saffrey, "Recherches", 279-97. For Bessarion's legacy and the founding of the Marciana, see L. Labowsky, "Il Cardinale Bessarione e gli inizi della Biblioteca Marciana", *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Venice, 1966), 159-82. The contents of the legacy are given in H. Omont, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs et latins donnés à Saint-Marc par le Cardinal Bessarion en 1468* (Paris, 1894). For a description, with plates, of some of the more important MSS, see T. Gasparri Leporace and E. Mioni, *Cento codici bessarionei* (Venice, 1968). Labowsky has now brought out a valuable edition of six early inventories of Bessarion's books: *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana* (Leiden, 1979).
21. The letter is in Mohler, III, 439-49. The reference to the good prospects of the crusade occurs p.441 (lines 18-21) Cf. Loenertz, "Biographie", 118.
22. Greek text in Saffrey, "Recherches", 282.
23. Loenertz, "Biographie", 118-19.
24. While retaining the numbers in Bessarion's index, I have admitted some small dislocations in the order in which the items are taken, so as to allow greater continuity of discussion. Where there are real gaps, it should be understood that the items in question (mainly minor) have not yet been edited.
25. Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ὄσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν καὶ θεοφόρον, Βησσαρίωνα τὸν θαυματουργόν, ed. Pierre Joannou (himself a Trapezuntine) as "Un opuscule inédit du Cardinal Bessarion, Le Panégyrique de saint Bessarion, anachorète égyptien", *AnalBoll*, 65 (1947), 105-33.
26. The canon is given in an appendix, Joannou, *op. cit.*, 135-8.
27. *Ibid.*, 114.
28. Text in Joannou, *op. cit.*, paras. 11 and 15.
29. *Ibid.*, 114, and cf. paras. 1, 2, 7.
30. *Ibid.*, para. 14.
31. Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῷ μακαρίτῃ καὶ ἀοιδίμῳ βασιλεῖ κυρῷ Μανουῆλ τῷ Παλαιολόγῳ, ed. S. Lambros, *Παλαιολόγια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά* (Athens, 1926-30; hereafter, Lambros, ΠΠ), III, 286-90. For a recent study of Manuel, see J. W. Barker, *Manuel Palaeologus 1391-1425: A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1969; hereafter, Barker, *Manuel*).

32. Lambros, ΠΠ, III, 289-90 (lines 32 ff.).
33. *Bessarionis Cardinalis Nicaeni Monodia in Obitu Manuelis Palaeologi*, PG, 161, cols. 615-20.
34. Lambros, ΠΠ, III, 287 (lines 7 ff.).
35. Cf. Barker, *Manuel*, 192, 434.
36. Lambros, ΠΠ, III, 285-6.
37. Ὡ συνέσεως ἐκείνης ἀπαραμίλλου, δι' ἣν ἐθουμάζετο πρὸς τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τὸ κράτος ἐπειλημμένων Ἰταλῶν, *ibid.*, 287 (lines 16-17).
38. *Ibid.*, 287 (lines 17-22, 23-9); 288 (lines 14-24).
39. Βησσαρίωνος Προσφώνημα πρὸς τὸν Εὐσεβέστατον Βασιλέα τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος Ἀλέξιον τὸν Μέγαν Κομνηνόν, ed. Archbishop Chrysanthos, Ἀρχ.Ποιντ., 12 (1946), 117-30.
40. Γνώριμον ἦν τοῦμόν ὄνομα πᾶσι τοῖς ὀπηδήποτε φωνῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐπαύουσι, καὶ μήπω τέτταρα καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γενόμενος αἰδοῖος ἡγεμόσι καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ὑπῆρχον. Ποθεινότατος Βασιλεῦσιν, οἱ οὐ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν μόνον καὶ τῶν προβεβηκότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀξιώματα περιβεβλημένων ἡμᾶς προετίθουν. PG, 161, col. 461 D). This sounds rather inflated, but Bessarion is concerned to bring home to his readers, including many of a younger generation, that he belonged very much to the Byzantine world, and was a well known figure there.
41. Loenertz, "Biographie", 131-2.
42. For Sophia of Montferrat, see C. Diehl, *Figures byzantines*, II (Paris, 1927), 273 ff.; and for Maria Comnene, *ibid.*, 276-7. For John's grief and inactivity after Maria's death, see Syropoulos, XII, 17 (p. 568); J. Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence* (Oxford, 1964; hereafter, Gill, *Personalities*), 112 ff., and *idem*, *Council*, 351 ff.
43. Alexios seems to have succeeded to the throne in 1417 (W. Miller, *Trebizond, The Last Greek Empire* [London, 1926], 79). Archbishop Chrysanthos places the departure of Dositheos (with Bessarion) in the same year, and sees this as the result of the machinations of Alexios (Ἀρχ.Ποιντ., 9 [1939], 4). If Père Laurent is right in fixing the departure of Dositheos in 1416, the intrigue (apparently accompanied by threats of violence) may have derived from a different quarter; but his calculation is not entirely convincing.
44. Ἀρχ.Ποιντ., 12 (1946), 117.
45. Trebizond fell to the Turks in 1461. The fall of the city is described in a letter to Bessarion by George Amiroutzes, PG, 161, cols. 723-7. (For Amiroutzes see below, Item 13).
46. Miller, *op. cit.*, 82. For Bessarion's remarks, cf. Ἀρχ.Ποιντ., 12 (1946), 122 (75 ff.), 128 (285 ff.).
47. 1. Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῇ εὐσεβεῖ Δεσποίνῃ τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος, Κυρᾷ Θεοδώρῃ τῇ Μεγάλῃ Κομνηνῇ
2. Μονωδία πάλιν ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ
3. Καὶ αὐθις ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἑτέρα Μονωδία
4. Ἡρωικοὶ στίχοι ἐπιτύμβιοι εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν.
48. Loenertz, "Biographie", 132-3. But Phrantzes, *Chronicon Minus*, PG, 156, col. 1031, dates Maria's arrival in Constantinople as 29 August, 1427.
49. *RSBN*, N.s. 5, (1968), 105-21. The first monody was edited by Tryphon Evangelides (Hermopolis, i.e. Syra, 1910), but I have not so far seen a copy of this. The sepulchral verses mentioned above (note 47, item 4) are only a remnant, a folio having been torn from the codex.

The few scanty details available about the Empress Theodora are given in Pontani, *op. cit.*, 111-12.

50. This has been conclusively shown by O. Lampsides, in his introduction to John's Ἐκφρασις Τραπεζοῦντος. See below, Item 27, note 86.

51. Pontani, *op. cit.*, 108.

52. Mohler III, 414-18.

53. Cf. Loenertz, "Biographie", 133-42. The literature on Scholarios himself is too abundant to be indicated in full. An excellent documentation is given in C. J. G. Turner, "George Gennadius Scholarios and the Union of Florence", *JThS*, N.s. 18, (1967), 83-103, and "The Career of George-Gennadius Scholarios", *Byzantion*, 39 (1969), 420-55. M. Jugie, however, as one of the editors of the works of Scholarios, has special claims on our attention. Cf. his article in *DTC*, 14 B (1941), cols. 1521-70.

54. For Mistra and Pletho's activities there, cf. D. Zakyntinos, *Le Depostat grec de Morée*, II (Athens, 1953; Variorum reprint, with valuable additional notes by C. A. Maltézou, London, 1975; hereafter, Zakyntinos, *Despotat*), 321-48; and Masai, *Plethon*, 37-65.

55. Cf. Zakyntinos, *Despotat*, I, 165-284.

56. It is possible that Bessarion had the duty of supervising the temporal affairs of the monastery to which he was assigned. Cf. Loenertz, "Biographie", 140, who proposes a likely emendation in Mohler's text (III, 417, line 23), which would support this view. Some lines in a letter to Sophianos (see below, Item 19) further indicate that he was tied to the spot for practical reasons.

57. See S. Salaville, "Un thomiste à Byzance au XVe siècle: Gennade Scholarios", *EO*, 23 (1924), 129-36.

58. E.g., he identifies the δεσπότης of the first letter, III, 417 (line 29) with Pletho, when the reference is fairly obviously to the Despot Theodore II (whom he elsewhere confuses with his brother Demetrios). Cf. Loenertz, "Biographie", 140.

59. Αὐτὸς δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἀλγῶ, σοφωτάτου φίλου στερούμενος. Τίς μὲν γὰρ χαίρει τοῖς ἐμοῖς μᾶλλον ἐκείνου; Τίς δὲ οἶδε τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν ἐν λόγοις αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, καὶ θαυμάζει μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ; . . . Ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὕδατος ἦν καὶ ἀέρος καὶ ζωῆς τιμιώτερος. Νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν κοσμεῖ, ἡμεῖς δὲ πολίταις μὲν ἀγαθοῖς, ἀμαθέσι δὲ ἄλλως πλὴν ὀλίγων, καὶ λόγων ἀνέραστοι <leg. ἀνεράστοις> ἐνδαισιώμεθα. . . Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος ἂν γένοιτο καιρὸς τραγωδεῖν. ("Contre le discours de Bessarion", *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, ed. L. Petit, X. A. Siderides, M. Jugie [Paris, 1928-36], III, 115, 1-10). If the *lectio difficilior* of the printed text is in fact the true one, my translation will need to be altered: "and myself out of sorts with (or 'out of favour with') letters" — neither of which it is quite easy to imagine Scholarios saying.

60. Mohler III, 422-4. The later history of Amiroutzes is involved and obscure. After being one of the clearest supporters of the Union of Florence (cf. M. Jugie, "La Profession de Foi de George Amiroutzes au Concile de Florence", *EO*, 36 [1937], 175-80) he turned against it. However, the tract against the Council attributed to him, and containing a denunciation of Bessarion (L. Mohler, "Eine bisher

- verlorene Schrift von Georgios Amiroutzes über das Konzil von Florenz", *OrChr*, N.s. 9 [1920], 20-5, and published independently by M. Jugie, *Byzantion*, 14 [1939], 77-93), is not genuine. Cf. J. Gill, *JEH*, 9:1 (1958), 30-7 (and Gill, *Personalities*, 204-12). For his letter to Bessarion after the fall of Trebizond, cf. above, note 45. He was popularly believed to have adopted the Islamic faith, and to have betrayed Trebizond to the Turks. Professor N. Tomadakis, "Ἐτούρκεσεν ὁ Γεώργιος Ἀμιρούτζης;" *Ἐπ'ἘτΒυζΣπ*, 3 (1948), 98-143, points out strange inconsistencies in this story. He thinks that Amiroutzes was a kind of Deist, of the tribe of Pletho, not a religious believer. Cf. the curious letter to him from Michael Apostolis, Bessarion's scribe and book-collector, in H. Noiret, *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis*, (Paris, 1899), 83-4. The traditional account is given in E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, III (Paris, 1903), 195-201.
61. Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῇ θειοτάτῃ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῃ κυρίᾳ ἡμῶν. . . Κλεόπη Παλαιολογίνα, συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις Βησσαρίωνος, ed. Lambros, ΠΠ, IV, 155-60.
62. See Pontani, *op. cit.* (as in note 49), 113-16. Only about twenty lines of the present monody are really new, but they are moving, personal and informative.
63. Cf. Diehl, *op. cit.* (as in note 42), II, 285-6. For a fuller documentation see Zakynthinos, *Despotat*, I, 188-91, 299-301, with additional notes by C. A. Maltéizou, 351-2.
64. So Diehl, rendering Pletho (Zakynthinos, *Despotat*, I, 190). For papal letters to Theodore and Cleope, see texts *ibid.*, 299-302.
65. For Pletho's monody, see Lambros, ΠΠ, IV, 161-75; also PG, 160, cols. 940-52.
66. Zakynthinos, *Despotat*, I, 205, 211, with note on p. 353.
67. Στίχοι...ἐπὶ τῇ μακαρίτιδι καὶ ἀοιδίμῳ κυρίᾳ ἡμῶν, κυρίᾳ Θεοδώρᾳ τῇ Παλαιολογίῃ, ποιηθέντες παρὰ Βησσαρίωνος ἱερομονάχου, ed. Lambros, ΠΠ, IV, 994-5. Cf. also PG, 161, cols. 621-2; the comment by Allatius is there cited.
68. Ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς τοὺς ἀοιδίμους κῦρ Μανουήλ καὶ κυρὰν Ἑλένην τοὺς Παλαιολόγους γενομένοις πέπλοις διπλοῖς, ἐν σχήματι μοναστῶν καὶ κοσμικῶν, ἐξ ἀναθήματος τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς υἱοῦ αὐτῶν κῦρ Θεοδώρου, τοῦ πανευτυχεστάτου δεσπότη τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου, ed. Lambros, ΠΠ, III, 281-3.
69. *Ibid.*, line 19.
70. Lambros, ΠΠ, I, 213-14; cited by Zakynthinos, *Despotat*, I, 201.
71. Τῷ Δεσπότη τῷ Πορφυρογεννήτῳ (Mohler, III, 525-6); Τῷ αὐτῷ (Mohler, III, 427).
72. "Qua (*sc. fama*) moti, clarissimi fratres, quorum unus Byzantii imperator erat, alter Peloponnesum regebat, nascentes inter se discordias, eo interprete et medio, composuerunt" (Mohler, III, 407).
73. Loenertz, "Biographie", 146-7.
74. Παύλῳ τῷ Σοφιανῷ . . . Δημητρίῳ τῷ Πεπαγωμένῳ . . . Νικηφόρῳ τῷ Χειλᾷ, Mohler, III, 428-9, 429-30, 430-1. For Sophianos, see Zakynthinos, *Despotat*, I, 88 (with further references to his family, pp. 77, 122, 250, 325). For Pēpagomenos, *ibid.*, 250, 352; Cheilas, *ibid.*, 190, 304, and Loenertz, "Biographie", 148-9.

75. Διονυσίῳ ἱερομονάχῳ (Mohler, III, 431-3); Ματθαίῳ καὶ Ἰσιδώρῳ τοῖς ἱερομονάχοις (*ibid.*, 435-7). The Denis of the first letter may be safely identified with the future bishop of Sardis, whose name occurs frequently in Syropoulos (pp. 164, 184, 256, etc.). He died at Ferrara, and was buried in the church of San Giuliano there, leaving his procuratorship for the Patriarch of Jerusalem to Dositheos, Bessarion's early patron. Cf. Gill, *Council*, 112-13, who notes, on the authority of Allatius, that Bessarion erected an inscription for him.

76. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἤθους ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ σεμνοῦ καταστήματος μόνου τοὺς τύπους ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ περιφέρων, οἷς καὶ μόνον ὀρώμενος ἐθαυμάζετο τῶν ὑμνουμένων οὐκ ἔλαττον θεαμάτων, ἄγαμαι τε τὸν ἄνδρα (Mohler, III, 432, lines 13-15).

77. *Ibid.*, 437, line 33.

78. Gill, *Personalities*, 65-8. The identification was proposed by Mohler (I, 44) in his biography, but passed over in silence in his edition of the letters. It was rejected on good grounds by Zakynthinos, *Despotat*, I, 333, note 4.

79. Syropoulos (IX, 15, p. 450): εἶδον δὲ καὶ τὸν Σηλυβρίας τὸν Χορτασμένον, ὃς ἦν τῶν λογίων καὶ τῶν μεγάλων διδασκάλων εἷς, καὶ οἶδα καλῶς ὅτι λίαν ἐπήνει κάκεινος τὴν ἔνωσιν.

80. Hunger, *Johannes Chortasmenos* (as in note 10), 179-80.

81. J. Gill, "Was Bessarion a Conciliarist or a Unionist?", *OCA*, 204 (1977), 209-11. Cf. also his chapter, "The Sincerity of Bessarion the Unionist", *Miscellanea Marciana di Studi Bessarionei* (Padua, 1976), 118-36 (and *JThS*, N.s. 18 [1967],

83-103). The only reason for thinking that Bessarion had already accepted the *Filioque* doctrine was Mohler's theory that his defence of the much earlier Latinophrone John Bekkos against Gregory Palamas (Πρὸς τὰς τοῦ Παλαμᾶ κατὰ τοῦ Βέκκου Αντιρρήσεις, PG, 161, cols. 243-310) was composed before the Council. But this is purely an assumption, and can, I believe, be disproved on internal evidence alone. Mohler's theory was rejected by E. Candal, in his "Bessarion Nicaenus in Concilio Florentino", *OCP*, 6 (1940), 431-3. Indeed, it would make obvious nonsense of Bessarion's earlier speeches at the Council.

82. This has been called in question by Tomadakis, and with more nuance by Masai, and is a matter of perplexity to others (cf. H.-G. Beck, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3rd ed. [Tübingen, 1957], I, col. 1095), mainly, one may take it, because of the mythological language in which Bessarion consoles Pletho's two sons on the death of their father (Mohler, III, 141). But this seems fairly obviously a literary *tour de force*, in which Bessarion deliberately uses the formulas which would have been congenial to the Pletho of the Νόμοι. Presumably they admitted in Bessarion's mind of some kind of general transposition into Christian terms, even if only into some theory of "natural happiness" for the wise and good.

83. Νομοφύλακι τῷ Εὐγενικῷ (Mohler, III, 433-5). L. Bréhier defines the office and functions of the *Nomophylax* as follows: "Gardien des lois, en même temps directeur de la Faculté de droit, destinée à l'instruction des futurs fonctionnaires" (*Les institutions de l'empire byzantine* [Paris, 1949], 141). John Eugenikos

was, however, *nomophylax* in the patriarchal, not the imperial, administration, though presumably there was some resemblance in the roles. According to Laurent, Eugenikos would have occupied the third place in the patriarchal officialdom. See *DHGE*, 15, cols. 1371-4.

84. John did not stay for the end of the Council, but was back in Byzantium waging a bitter anti-Latin polemic six months before the return of the Greek delegation (cf. Laurent, as in note 83). After his brother Mark's death, he revered him as a saint, and wrote a *synaxarion* for him. Cf. L. Petit, "Anacolouthie de Marc Eugénikos archevêque d'Éphèse", *SBN*, 2 (1927), 195-235. J. Gill provides an excellent English translation in *Personalities*, 55-62.

85. Βησσαρίωνος Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, ed. S. Lambros, *Νέος Ἑλλ.*, 13 (1916) 145-204 (hereafter, Ἐγκώμιον).

86. Cf. O. Lampsides, "Die Datierung des Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα von Kardinal Bessarion", *BZ*, 48 (1955), 291-2.

87. Lampsides, *ibid.*, 292, Ἐγκώμιον, 176 (lines 18-19).

88. W. Miller, *Trebizond* (as in note 43).

89. Cf. O. Lampsides, in the introduction to his edition of Ἰωάννου Εὐγενικοῦ Ἐκφρασις Τραπεζοῦντος, Ἐρχ.Ποντ., 20 (1955), 3-39. Whether Eugenikos had Bessarion's work before him is not clear. The minor coincidences of phrasing probably go back to the traditional rhetorical model which they both followed (Lampsides).

90. Ἐγκώμιον, 176 (lines 10-11).

91. *Ibid.*, 182.

92. Κατὰ τὸ γνωστὸν πλάσμα,

Lambros, in his commentary on the text, p. 199.

93. Βησσαρίωνος Πρὸς τὴν Σύνοδον, ἢ περὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, ed. Archbishop Chrysanthos, Ἐρχ.Ποντ., 9 (1939), 3-42.

94. *Ibid.*, 24 (610-15); 25 (616 ff.).

95. Syropoulos, IV, 44 (p. 248).

96. *DHGE*, 14, cols. 700-1.

97. He cites *Canon 5* (with Cyril's comments), Πρὸς τὴν Σύνοδον (as in note 93), p. 13 (220 ff.); *Canon 36*, p. 14 (242 ff.), etc.; p. 35 (986-7), he refers to one of the canons cited as deriving from "the Holy Apostles" and seems to imply that the others do too.

98. Bessarion's knowledge of St. Cyril's letters and conciliar activities is evident in many pages, e.g. 15, 32, 37 etc. For a quite early example of his Patristic reading, see his apostrophe to Origen after a first reading of the *Contra Celsum* (Saffrey, "Recherches", 277-8).

99. He remembers the *Hippolytus* at p. 26 (673).

100. He breaks into this strong language (speaking of course in the name of Dositheos) at p. 18 (375 ff.).

101. *Ibid.*, p. 23 (567-70).

102. See E. Candal, "Andreae Rhodiensis, O.P., Inedita ad Bessarionem Epistula", *OCP*, 4 (1938), 329-71. The Greek text is given with a Latin translation and a full commentary.

103. For Andrew Chrysoberges, see Laurent, *DHGE*, 14, cols. 700-1.

Also R. Loenertz, "Les Dominicains Théodore et André Chrysoberges, et les négociations pour l'union des églises, Grecque et Latine, de 1415 à 1430", *AFP*, 9 (1939), 5-61.

104. There has been a great recrudescence of literature on

Palamism over the last twenty years or so. For a vast bibliography, see D. Stiernon, *REB*, 30 (1972), 231- 336. Important contributions, some for and some against, have been made since then. It seems best to admit, with Professor Meyendorff (who chiefly inaugurated the revival of these studies), that the Palamite theology is not to be regarded primarily as a rounded out and consistent speculative system. The questions that troubled Bessarion, however much he simplified them, still trouble many today, including some who are by no means unsympathetic to Byzantine mysticism. Others feel that these difficulties are based on a too purely philosophic approach, and that the real strength and appeal of Palamas lie precisely in his apprehension of aspects of religious thought and experience that are complementary but hard to reconcile.

105. See *Acta Graeca*, 349-50 (sixth session at Florence). Cf. J. Gill's comment on this interlude in *Council*, 205-6.

106. Bessarion had been eight years in Italy before there is any evidence of correspondence between them (cf. Gill, "Was Bessarion a Conciliarist...?" [as in note 81], 205-6. From Filelfo's later correspondence (see Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres grecques... [as in note 11]*, *passim* and Mohler, III, 598-9) one gains the impression that Bessarion was not in a hurry to answer, and that he knew he was dealing with a difficult man.

107. The question has lately arisen whether Bessarion (like Scholarios and John Eugenikos, and possibly Pletho) knew Latin before coming to the Council. As early as 1968, Professor Elpidio Mioni drew attention to a work by Bessarion on

the Trinity in *MS. Marc. gr. 523* ("Bessarione bibliofilo e filologo", *RSBN*, N.s. 5 [1968], 65). In a later article, "Bessarione Scriba e alcuni suoi Collaboratori", *Miscellanea Marciana di Studi Bessarionei* (Padua, 1976), 270, he described this item more closely, giving the Greek title, "Ἐπι ἐρμηνεία ἡμετέρα τοῦ μέρους πρώτου βιβλίου τῆς ἀποφάσεως (later corrected to τῶν ἀποφάσεων). This suggested independently to Fr. Gill and myself that the work was a Greek translation of part of the first book of the *Sentences* of Peter the Lombard, a hypothesis which was rapidly confirmed when Fr. Gill obtained a microfilm of the major part of the *MS* from the Marciana. Since then he has published his views on this discovery in "Was Bessarion a Conciliarist . . .?" (note 81). Accepting Professor Mioni's idea that this item, bound up as it is with various exercises written out by Bessarion during the time of his studies under Pletho at Mistra, probably dates from that period, Fr. Gill finds himself faced with a riddle. Such evidence as we have indicates that Bessarion learnt Latin first in Italy, after the Council. Was he then merely the scribe of an already existing Greek version, even though the title seems to imply that he was also the translator? Fr. Gill has been kind enough to lend me his microfilm, and Mr. Richard Kerr, of the Cambridge University Library, has made a careful and scholarly transcription of the entire contents. Both he and I have reached the conviction that this is indeed Bessarion's translation (the striking out of one word and the substitution of a better one, and other signs of a man altering his mind about how to render the Latin, tell their own

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story). I agree with Fr. Gill that Bessarion is not likely to have known Latin in his Mistra days — certainly not well enough to execute this very capable translation. With Mr. Kerr I feel that the work belongs to Bessarion's Italian period. But why was it undertaken? Why not finished? And why bound up in

Marc. gr. 523 with exercises of an earlier period? These are questions to which I should like to return later.

At this stage I should like to thank Professor Mioni for his kindness in sending me his revised and expanded description of the whole codex, with valuable additional information.

Plates

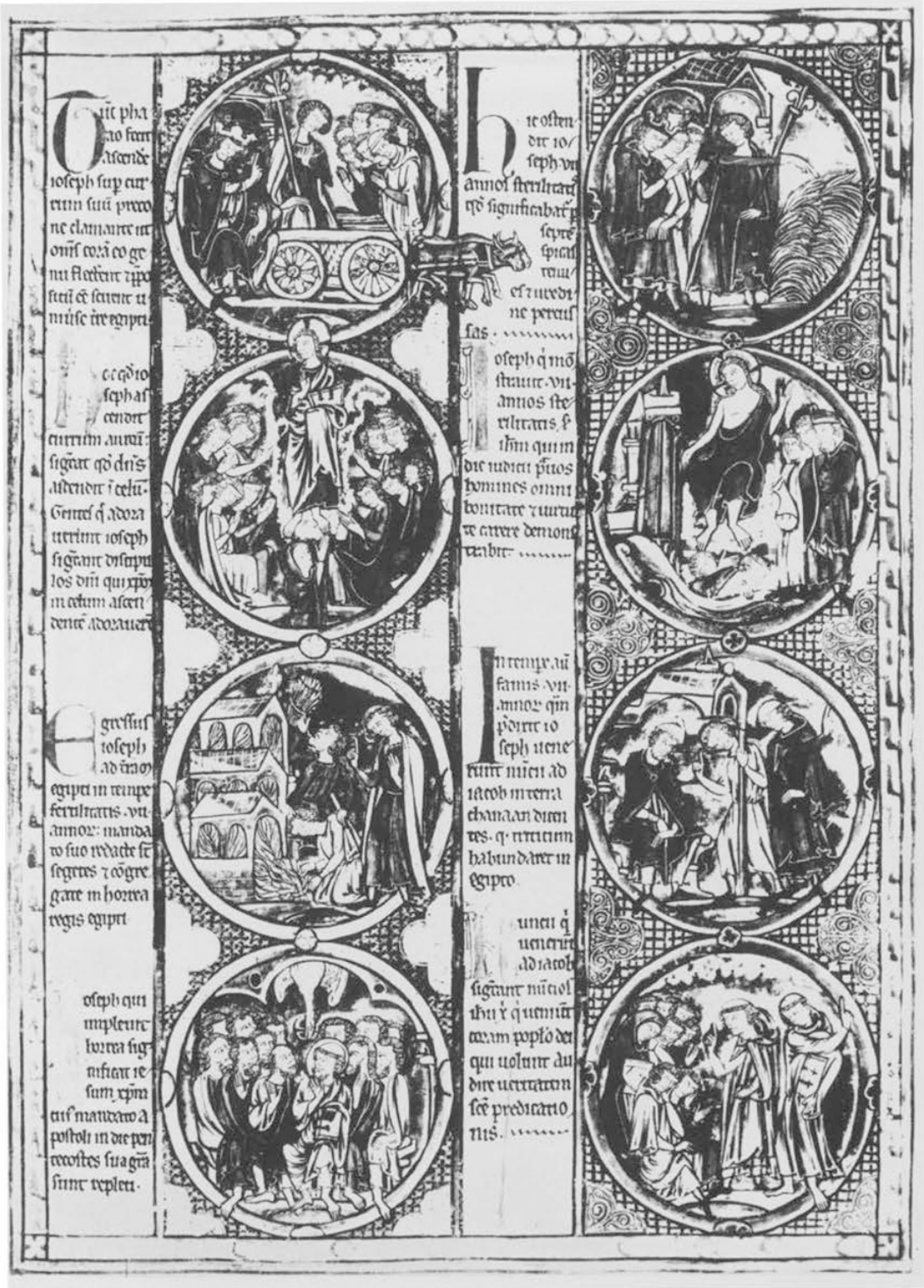


Plate 1 Bible moralisée, Oxford, Bodl. 270b. fol.28r

Quic pharaon fecit
 ascendit
 ioseph sup curru
 rum suu pcedo
 ne clamante in
 omni cora eo ge
 nu flexerunt rpe
 stitit et scilicet u
 misit in egyptu

Quod ioseph as
 cendit
 curru suu
 signat qd dñs
 ascendit i celu
 Genes q adora
 verunt ioseph
 signant dñm
 in celum ascen
 dent adoraunt

Egressus
 ioseph
 ad aegyptu
 egyptu in tempore
 fertilitatis .vij.
 annor: manda
 to suo redacti se
 segras et cogre
 gare in horrea
 regis egypti

Ioseph qui
 implevit
 horrea sig
 nificat re
 sum xpianu
 cui mandato a
 postoli in die pen
 tentis sua gra
 tiam replevit.



Hic ostendit
 ioseph vi
 annos fertilitatis
 qd significabat
 septem
 spiritui
 reu
 est uedi
 ne percuss
 fas

Ioseph q mo
 stratur .vij.
 annos fertilitatis
 istum qui in
 die iudicii pios
 homines omni
 bonitate ruit
 re cetera demon
 strabit

In tempore
 annor: .vij.
 annor: qm
 poret ioseph
 uenire ad
 iacob in terra
 ebanan dicitur
 q. rritiam
 habundaret in
 egypto

Uenit q
 uenit
 ad iacob
 signant nūc col
 ihu x qui uenit
 coram populo dei
 qui uolunt au
 dire ueritatem
 scē predicatio
 nis



Plate 2 Pierpont Morgan Old Testament Picture Book, fol. 5^v



Plate 3. BM, Or. 2884: "Sister Haggadah", fol. 8^r

...
vont il vouer por lui & por sa femme q'il al-
der amare tel besoin.



Coment le roi fist aler ioseph sur so-
uche char par tote sacite

Dont restut ioseph dou roi pharaon
la pharaon la poeste & la baillie
q'ce q'il duoit ou comanderoit par tot
son regne seroit fet sans demorance.



Plate 5 Sopočani, Holy Trinity: Wall painting in the narthex; line drawing from V. Durić, *Sopočani* (Belgrade, 1963), 33



Plate 6 Octateuch, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 125

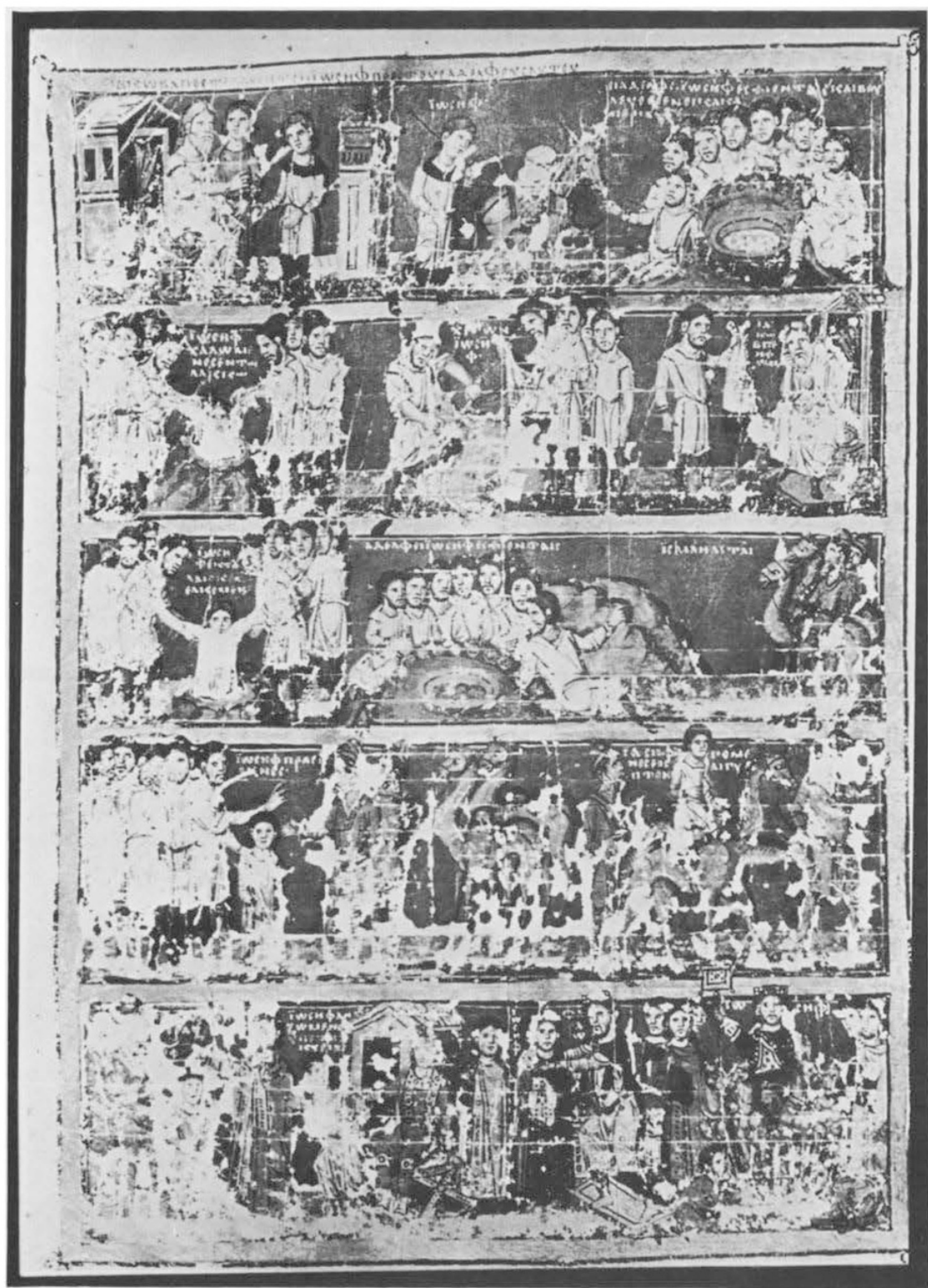


Plate 7 *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus, Par. gr. 510, fol. 69^v

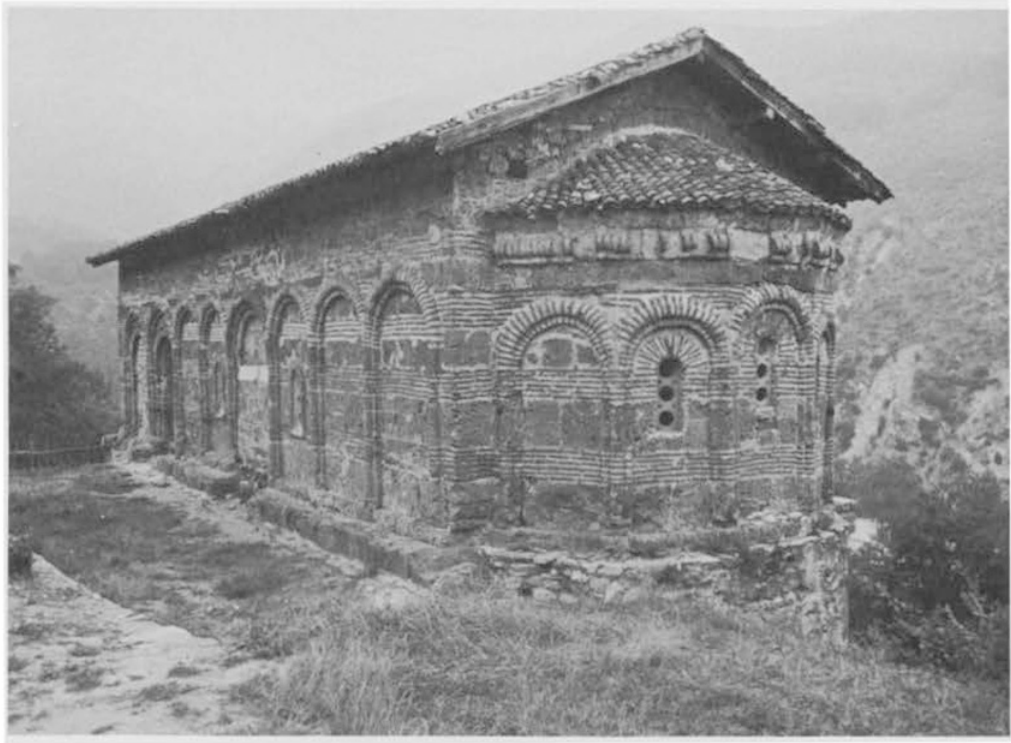


Plate 8 Bačkovo ossuary, exterior from the southeast



Plate 9 Bačkovo ossuary, St. George the Hagiorite, west wall, church naos



Plate 10 Bačkovô ossuary, Bosom of Abraham, with Neophytos inscription below Abraham's feet, east wall, crypt narthex



Plate 11 Bačkovo ossuary, Iviropoulos inscription, valut, crypt narthex



Plate 12 Bačkovo ossuary, St. George, west wall, church narthex.



Plate 13 Vat. gr. 1851, fol. 7^r